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No. 93



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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Issue of 'Second Front' During World War II Reviewed (Zhang Dawei; GANSU SHIDA XUEBAO, 10 Nov 79)	1
'RENMIN RIBAO' Comments on U.S. Recession (Gu Jin; RENMIN RIBAO, 29 May 80)	24
'RENMIN RIBAO' Reporter on Black Riots in Miami (Zhang Yan; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 May 80)	27
'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Flight of American Middle Class (Dong Mei; GUANGMING RIBAO, 24 May 80)	30
'Radio Beijing' on Current European Economic Situation (Beijing Domestic Service, 4 Jun 80)	33
Soviet Development of Biological, Chemical Weapons Noted (XINHUA Domestic Service, 5 Jun 80)	35

PARTY AND STATE

'Ba Yi Radio' Hits PRC Cooperation With U.S., Japan, West Europe (Ba Yi Radio, 2 Jun 80).....	37
Xi Zhongxun's Visit to Macao Reported (Various sources, 6, 7 Jun 80)	39
Officials' Comments Visit Ends	
'RENMIN RIBAO' Editorial Welcomes Barbadian Prime Minister (Editorial; XINHUA Domestic Service, 10 Jun 80)	41

Fifth Plenum of Eleventh CCP Central Committee Adjourns (Editorial; GONGREN RIBAO, 4 Mar 80)	43
Political Role of Party Leadership Discussed (Ai Han; SIXIANG JIEFANG, 5 Jan 80)	46
Party Committee Members' Action Must Be Exemplary (Chou Wu; TIANJIN RIBAO, 29 Feb 80)	51
Conference Held To Discuss Party Discipline in Beijing (BEIJING RIBAO, 13 Mar 80)	54
Work Reviewed; Tasks Set Editorial Support, Editorial	
Quoting From Ancients Said To Be Acceptable (Zhang Heming; GONGREN RIBAO, 20 Mar 80)	61
Protection of People's Democratic Rights Urged (Feng Shen; SIXIANG JIEFANG, 5 Jan 80)	64
Revolutionary Fighter Martyred by 'Gang of Four' Praised (ZHONGGUO Q NGNIAN BAO, 22 Apr 80)	71
Legal System Strengthened by Implementation of New Laws (SIXIANG JIEFANG, 5 Jan 80)	85
Cadres Must Set Example We Must Obey the Law	
Xizang Meeting Attendants Discuss Prosperity Measures (XINHUA Domestic Service, 5 Jun 80)	93
Hong Kong Newspaper Compares Tibet, Taiwan (HSIN WAN PAO, 31 May 80)	95
Hong Kong Paper Comments on Events in Xizang (Lin Wei; WEN WEI PO, 8 Jun 80)	97
Hong Kong Journal Editorial on Rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi (Editorial; CHENG MING, 1 Jun 80)	99
Liao Ping's Support for Liu Shaoqi, Peng Zhen Noted (XINHUA Domestic Service, 26 May 80)	102
Exhibition in Memory of Liu Shaoqi Viewed (Zhang Tianlai, Ge Zengfu; GUANGMING RIBAO, 22 May 80)	105

Hong Kong Journal Comments on 'RENMIN RIBAO' Editorial on Mao, Liu (Chen Ming; CHENG MING, 1 Jun 80)	110
'RENMIN RIBAO' Carries Li Qiang Article on Ye Jizhuang (Li Qiang, et al.; RENMIN RIBAO, 24 Apr 80)	112
Hong Kong Magazine on Xu Shiyu, Wang Dongxing (Lo Ping; CHENG MING, 1 Jun 80)	122
'RENMIN RIBAO' on 'Recruiting Deserters, Traitors' (Ren Bing; RENMIN RIBAO, 20 May 80)	129
Guangdong Youths Oppose Ban on Big-Character Posters (Ge Tian; CHISHIH NIENTAI, 2 Jun 80)	131
'BEIJING RIBAO' Calls on Youth To Act To Realize Their Ideal (Ma Meili; BEIJING RIBAO, 22 May 80)	136
'GUIZHOU RIBAO' Stresses Communist Ideals (Guizhou Provincial Service, 10 Jun 80)	139
Shanghai's Chen Guodong on Combining Plenum Guidelines (XINHUA Domestic Service, 31 May 80)	141
Briefs	
Guangxi Trial Point Election	143
Gansu Discipline Inspection Commission	143
Yunnan Party Training	143

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Political, Ideological Work of University Students Strengthened (GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 Apr 80)	144
Political and Ideological Education of Students Discussed (GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 Apr 80)	149
Raising Education, Teaching Levels To Train New Generation Urged (Editorial; TIANJIN RIBAO, 15 Apr 80)	152
Need for Reform in Political Theory Education Stressed (GUANGMING RIBAO, 17 Apr 80)	156
Shanghai University Official's View	
Government Symposium	
Middle School Courses	

Diversification in Higher Education Desirable (Shao Jinrong; GUANGMING RIBAO, 26 Apr 80)	160
Borrow Selectively From Abroad in Engineering Education (Zhang Wei; GUANGMING RIBAO, 26 Apr 80)	163
Suggestions on Strengthening Educational Work of Cadres (GUANGMING RIBAO, 11 Mar 80)	166
Liu Shaoqi's Educational Innovations Recalled, Praised (Chen Daoyuan, et al.; GUANGMING RIBAO, 19 Apr 80) ..	169
Department Heads at Shanghai University Given New Roles (GUANGMING RIBAO, 27 Apr 80)	177
Post, Telecommunications Correspondence Program Set Up (GUANGMING RIBAO, 27 Apr 80)	179
Scientists Appeal for Return to Real Jobs (GUANGMING RIBAO, 20 Apr 80)	181
Confucius' Place in Chinese History Reevaluated (GUANGMING RIBAO, 20 Apr 80)	183
Intellectuals Play Important Role in Socialist Construction (Guo Xuehua; GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 Apr 80)	185
Important Role of Intellectuals in New China Discussed (Shen Peiyan; GUANGMING RIBAO, 23 Feb 80)	188
'RENMIN RIBAO' Carries Articles on Solving Urban Housing Problems (XINHUA Domestic Service, 1 Jun 80)	197
Commentary Calls for Moderating Funeral Expenses (XINHUA Domestic Service, 3 Jun 80)	199
'GUANGMING RIBAO' Discusses Writers' Portrayal of Life (Dai Qing; GUANGMING RIBAO, 28 May 80)	200
'RENMIN RIBAO' Looks at Influence of Popular Music (Li Huanzhi; RENMIN RIBAO, 21 May 80)	204
'RENMIN RIBAO' Reveals Poor Quality of Operas (Qing Yuan; RENMIN RIBAO, 23 May 80)	206
'BEIJING RIBAO' Calls for More Modern Beijing Operas (Zhan Jin; BEIJING RIBAO, 25 May 80)	209

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Carries Contents of Philosophical Journal (GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 May 80)	211
Modern History Association Set Up in Zhengzhou (Henan Provincial Service, 5 Jun 80)	213
Beijing Holds Meeting on Restructuring Secondary Education (Beijing City Service, 30 May 80)	215
Commentary Greet National Children's Literature Awards (RENMIN RIBAO, 31 May 80)	217
'RENMIN RIBAO' Editorial on Children's Day (Editorial; RENMIN RIBAO, 1 Jun 80)	219
Briefs	
Henan College Enrollment	222
Shanghai Colleges' New Specialties	222
Jiangsu Education Meeting	222
Heilongjiang Vocational Education	222
Gansu Spare-Time Education	223
Jilin Model Teachers	223
Shanghai Management Personnel Training	223
Gansu Accountants	224
Nei Monggol Nationalities Research Society	224
Nei Monggol Youth Federation	224
Yunnan Population Association	224
Guangdong Planned Parenthood	225
Minority Tour to Shanghai	225
Liaoning Minority Delegation	225
Heilongjiang Minority Delegation	225
Hubei County Minority Nationalities	226
Jiangsu Governor Attends Meeting	226
Jiangsu Toponymy Work Conference	226
Heilongjiang Journalists Association	226
Jiangxi Rural Broadcasting	226
Jiangsu Drama Troupe	227

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ISSUE OF 'SECOND FRONT' DURING WORLD WAR II REVIEWED

Lanzhou GANSU SHIDA XUEBAO (Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban) [JOURNAL OF GANSU TEACHERS' UNIVERSITY (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)] in Chinese No 4, 10 Nov 79 pp 37-48

[Article by Zhang Dawei [1728 1129 5898]: "Some Problems Concerning the 'Second Front'"]

[Text] During World War II, the countries that joined the antifascist alliance had different social systems; the motives for their participation in the war and the goals they pursued were also not necessarily the same; hence, various contradictions and struggles were bound to occur among them. But on the fundamental question of opposition to fascism, they had a common enemy. This common interest enabled the various antifascist allies to unite, to coordinate with and support one another, and thereby win to their victory in the antifascist World War II. This was also the case with the antifascist war in Europe.

History indicates that in Europe, wartime unity and cooperation between countries like the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain constituted the principal aspect, whereas the contradictions and struggles among them constituted the secondary aspect. Forgetting this fundamental point, or exaggerating the contradictions and struggles among them, violates historical truth and makes it impossible to answer the question as to why World War II concluded with the antifascist alliance victorious.

Starting from an affirmation of the above premise, this article attempts to explore the question of the appearance of contradictions and struggles between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Britain and the United States on the other hand, and also between Britain and the United States themselves, concerning the opening of a second front in Europe. At the same time, it also suggests a certain rudimentary view of my own regarding postwar comments on this question, as well as on the question of the historical role of the second front, in hopes that it will have the benefit of criticism and correction by others.

During World War II, there were two kinds of contradictions within the anti-fascist alliance over the question of opening a second front. One was the contradiction between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Britain and the United States on the other hand. This contradiction was very conspicuous from the very beginning, and to a certain degree it reflected the contradiction between two different systems. The other contradiction was that between Britain and the United States; this was relatively hidden in wartime and also carefully covered up, and after the war it became often overlooked or distorted. At that time, the contradiction between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Britain and the United States mainly concerned where the second front should be opened. In the meantime, these two points became entangled, and a complex and complicated situation further emerged.

On 22 June 1941, the German fascists invaded the Soviet Union, whereupon the Soviet-German war broke out. On 22 and 23 June, respectively, the governments of Britain and the United States issued statements on their intention to aid the Soviet Union in the war. Because the German fascists had launched a surprise attack against the Soviet Union with 70 percent of their forces, and because the Soviet Government had underestimated the prevailing situation, the German forces penetrated 500-600 kilometers inside Soviet territory by the middle of July. With the fall of Smolensk, the Soviet situation became critical as the country faced the crucial moment of life and death. In a letter to Churchill dated 18 July, Stalin formally requested Britain to "open an anti-Hitler front in the west (northern France) and north (the Polar region) and at the same time mentioned that, with regard to northern France, "there will be difficulty opening a front there, but in my opinion such a front should be opened, regardless of such difficulty."¹ In a second letter to Churchill, dated 3 September, Stalin pointed out "the fatal danger the Soviet Union is facing." The way to relieve it, according to him, was for Britain to "open up a second front in the Balkans or some region of France this year that would cause the Germans to withdraw 30-40 divisions from the eastern front," and at the same time to assure the Soviet Union that it would quickly obtain specific material aid. "Without these two forms of aid, the Soviet Union will suffer defeat or become so weak that she will be unable for a long time to support her ally with her own positive military action at the forefront of the anti-Hitler struggle."² Apart from a definite quantity of material aid, however, the request for the opening of a second front in 1941 was not accepted by Britain; in his reply dated 4 September, Churchill continued to say: "Whether or not the British Army has sufficient strength to attack the European continent in 1942 depends on the development of unforeseen circumstances."³

From the above letters we can see that the Soviet Union asked Britain to establish another important front in Europe immediately and fight the German troops, so as to divert 30-40 German divisions westward from the Soviet-German front. But when the Soviet Union first asked Britain to open up this second front, there was no fixed location, and the main purpose was to disperse and tie down the German forces in order to relieve the pressure of those German forces on the Soviet forces and spare the Soviet forces from fighting the main forces of the Germans alone.

On 8 December 1941, the Pacific war broke out and the United States formally joined the antifascist World War II; the debate over the opening of a second front thus became extended to three countries: the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain.

On 12 April 1942, Stalin received a letter from Roosevelt inviting Molotov to visit the United States in order to discuss "a very important military proposal concerning how to use our armed forces to relieve your difficult situation on the western front."⁴ First in Washington and then in London, Soviet Government delegations reached agreements with the United States and Britain concerning the opening of the second front in 1942, and announced them on 12 June.

But the United States and Britain did not open up the second front in 1942, and the Soviet-American and Soviet-British "statements" on this question therefore became empty documents. What really happened? This has long been a controversial and salient question. A good many personalities in the West attempted to finesse the question as to whether different meanings were indicated by the "statements," according to which "full understanding was reached" concerning the urgent task of opening a second front in Europe in 1942, and by their Russian version, according to which "completely consistent agreement was reached," and in doing so they attempted to pass off all responsibility. Soviet works, on the other hand, almost invariably considered such finesse as an indication that the United States and Britain were purposely delaying opening a second front. In order to form a judgment that corresponds to reality on the question as to why the second front was not opened in 1942, we must conduct a penetrating analysis of the situation at the time and of the related historical facts.

When the Soviet-German war broke out, the ruling cliques of Britain and the United States regarded it "simply as a god-sent incident,"⁵ rejoicing in the fact that Hitler's spearhead was finally turned eastward and consoled by the fact that they themselves could now enjoy a breathing spell since they were far removed from the main front. But the British and American authorities soberly recognized that the German fascist invasion of the Soviet Union was but the overture of large-scale aggression against themselves, and that the danger threatening the Soviet Union was also a danger against themselves. Hence they took "the smashing of Hitler" as their own "task of prime importance." As a result, they provided the Soviet Union with extensive material aid "in order to keep the Russians fighting." It was in this manner that these countries, which had different war aims and different social systems, forged an antifascist alliance in the face of the "common enemy of mankind" who vainly dreamed of dominating Europe and the world and who attempted to destroy world civilization.⁶ Besides, when the German fascists were at the peak of their fanaticism in the summer and fall of 1941, it was impossible for the ruling cliques of Britain and the United States, because of their class prejudices, to correctly estimate the strength of the proletarian dictatorship under socialism. They took certain phenomena in the Soviet-Finnish war as the basis for underestimating the military power of the Soviet Union. Even when the fanatic plan of the German fascists, designed in vain to destroy the Soviet Union by means of a blitzkrieg, went bankrupt,

the ruling cliques of Britain and the United States still maintained that "on the Russian front, there still is a question as to whether the Red Army can hold out to the end,"⁷ so "we must do our best to prevent a Russo-German compromise."⁸ Precisely because of this, when they settled on their policy of defeating Germany, first at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, they decided that, apart from providing the Soviet Union with material aid, they were also prepared to draw part of the German Army and Air Force away from the eastern front by military action in order to "preserve Russia as a positive opponent of Germany" and to avoid "the possibility of the Red Army's defeat in 1942."⁹

From this, we can see that, in order to achieve at a smaller price the early defeat of their own rival in the struggle for dominance, the ruling cliques of Britain and the United States really needed the presence of such a military ally as the Soviet Union, and because of this "extremely important reason,"¹⁰ they had to resort to military action. But there was still no definite clue concerning this military action when Roosevelt invited Molotov on 12 April 1942 to visit the United States for the sake of discussing the question of opening a second front. This was because the large-scale channel-crossing and landing operation along the northern coast of France by 48 divisions and 6,000 planes under the codename of "Siege," decided at a military conference held by Britain and the United States in London on 14 April 1942, could not be put into effect until the summer of 1943. As for the emergency plan under the codename "Ramrod," which was also formulated along with "Siege" to cope with a possible contingency in 1942, it was not a military plan for opening a second front; this plan, as it was prescribed, could be put into effect only under two conditions: one was to "make a sacrifice," if and when the Soviet Union faced collapse, by landing five divisions along the French coast to launch a desperate, diversionary attack in hopes of reversing the situation; the other was to carry it out if and when Germany suddenly fell apart because of internal change. But even such a contingency measure was not to be ready until the middle of September.

Then, were conditions actually ready at the time for the launching of large-scale channel-crossing and landing operations, or was it a case that the plan simply fell a step behind? Here we might as well analyze the military strength of Britain and the United States as of June 1942, namely, when Roosevelt extended his assurance to the Soviet Government about opening the second front in 1942.

In the year 1942, Eisenhower conducted a survey in Britain and reached the following conclusion: the shortage of British manpower and resources had already reached the point whereby even women 18 to 52 years of age had to be mobilized; in order to maintain the British Empire, the British Army was scattered in India, the Middle East, and North Africa, so the troops that Britain could provide for the opening of a second front could not be more than 15 divisions; the air force would have a great deal to do with the army's success in the fighting, but Britain could hardly meet the demands in this regard; the British Navy still had not achieved superiority over the German Navy (including submarines), and hence could not provide cover

and support for the landing; nor were the landing craft and materiel needed in the landing operations more than those available to the United States. Therefore, Eisenhower was of the opinion, "All this indicates that only if the United States can, at the very beginning of its participation in the military action, provide army, navy, and air force units at least equal in strength to those of the British armed forces, and subsequently also provide large numbers of army and air force contingents, can a large-scale attack in Europe be launched; otherwise it would be hopeless." Also, because of the shortage of British resources, until the United States "can provide large quantities of special equipment and materiel, it is impossible to embark upon any offensive operations." After he acquired some actual understanding in Britain, Harriman, the special representative of the American president, also thought that the United States "probably overestimated the preparedness of the 20-30 British divisions in the United Kingdom.... These divisions are without the full quota of their personnel, and their state of preparedness is very deficient." And he said: "I would really like to jump into a plane and go back to warn Roosevelt: we have had a grave misunderstanding of the situation in the past."¹²

What about the situation in the United States? After the Pearl Harbor incident, the United States started general mobilization and subsequently passed a new armament expansion plan, but the establishment and equipping of the army took quite some time. In terms of materiel preparedness, the original plan was also not quite fully achieved.¹³ For American troops to be launched in Europe, two problems still had to be solved: means of transportation across the Atlantic, and landing craft needed for disembarkation. Could these two problems be solved at the time? In 1942, submarine warfare undertaken by Germany caused a maximum of damage to British and American transportation craft, and the rate of shipbuilding in Britain and the United States could not make up the losses.¹⁴ Also, because Britain and the United States were then still in a stage of strategic defense, landing craft as an attack weapon were therefore 13th down the list in the shipbuilding plans of the United States; some large-type landing craft were not even included in the plan, although these would be necessary for the channel-crossing and landing operations. In Soviet works it was also acknowledged that "the problem of transportation was truly one of the most complicated tasks which the allies must solve in the process of the war."¹⁵ But this problem was not solved at the time. It also needs to be pointed out that Britain and the United States also had a Far Eastern front, and the enemies they faced were not limited to the German and Italian fascists. Although the United States had settled on a "Germany first" strategy, because she directly joined the war only after the Pearl Harbor incident, the "Pacific first" influence could not be reversed right away; American troops, materiel, and vessels were still mostly "bogged down" in the Pacific Theater.¹⁶ Consequently, in June 1942 only two divisions of American troops were transferred to the British Isles (at the beginning of August, only a half of a division was added); the air force had only a few squadrons; the navy could be treated as a training outfit; and most of the battle gear needed for the attack was also nonexistent.¹⁷

At that time, the situation of the German forces across the channel, according to De Galle's estimates, was something like this: "German troops in France in the course of time have reached 25, 26, or 27 divisions. In Germany itself, they may have another 15 divisions. This means that the Allied forces must from the very beginning fight some 40 divisions of enemy soldiers."¹⁸ In the face of such a contrast between the opposing forces, the American military authorities who had originally advocated large-scale channel-crossing operations in 1942 by now had to admit that it was impossible to launch a large-scale attack in Western Europe."¹⁹

Since the situation indicated that objective conditions for the opening of a second front by Britain and the United States were basically nonexistent in 1942, then what was the reason that prompted Roosevelt to take the initiative to invite a Soviet Government delegation to visit the United States to discuss the question of opening the second front--and even to make a promise in June, despite opposition by others, to undertake a solemn obligation to open the second front in 1942?

As the State Department's "Russia expert" Bohlen pointed out, the most fundamental reason was that the United States "was afraid of the collapse of the Red Army, surrender by the Bolshevik regime, or its compromise with Hitler."²⁰ The earliest time American troops could be launched on the European front on a large scale was the spring of 1943; therefore, to the United States "1942 will be a crucial year."²¹ It was precisely from this standpoint that Roosevelt, when the situation on the Soviet-German front was still very menacing, "felt the necessity of making a gesture to agree to opening a second front in 1942,"²² "with the intention of encouraging the Russians to preserve, through the raising of their hope of possible Allied action on the western front."²³

Another important reason was that, when the Soviet Union and Britain were negotiating a treaty of alliance, they touched on the question of a second front and the acknowledgment of the Soviet border (the latter question having to do, namely, with the new territory the Soviet Union had acquired in the west from 17 September 1939 to the eve of the outbreak of the Soviet-German war). Because "Britain's military situation in 1941 and at the beginning of 1942 was in imminent peril, Churchill wanted the Russians to put forth the greatest possible effort"; he thought that "if the border as demanded by Stalin was not acknowledged in the treaty, this might affect Russia's war effort."²⁴ On 7 March 1942, Churchill asked Roosevelt to agree that Britain was entitled to take "independent action" in signing a treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union, because "there is every indication that Germany is going to launch a large-scale attack upon Russia in the spring, and yet we are unable to help the only country engaged in fierce fighting against Germany."²⁵ To Britain, it would be fine if the conclusion of a formal alliance with the Soviet Union through the recognition of its western borders "could bolster the Soviet Union's morale and prolong the Soviet Union's period of resistance against Hitler's invasion,"²⁶ but she would not need at the same time to take up the difficult question of opening a second front. However, the United States situated differently from Britain and ready with other plans on postwar arrangements, was firmly opposed to a

discussion of any border question before the conclusion of the war. Apart from attempting to block Britain in this regard, "Roosevelt thought that the urgent thing was to divert the attention of the Russian Government from certain awkward postwar political problems; hence he emphasized the determination of Britain and the United States to open up a second front in the west, because that was precisely what the Communists...had continuously clamored for since the German invasion of Russia."²⁷ It was with this approach that Roosevelt "induced the Soviet Government to abandon one interest in pursuit of another even more attractive interest by using the ready provision of military aid as the bait to divert its attention from the border."²⁸ This shows that, in inviting a Soviet Government delegation on 12 April 1942 to visit the United States, Roosevelt's "telegram reflected the words Hopkins had told Eden: 'The president believes that our principal proposal here will reduce Russia's diplomatic demands on Britain.'"²⁹

The above data should be able to illustrate the crucial point as to why Roosevelt wanted so "hurriedly and prematurely to invite"³⁰ Molotov to visit the United States before conditions for opening the second front were present!

In late May 1942, Molotov visited the United States by way of Britain; after he avoided the territory question while signing the British-Soviet treaty of alliance, how did Roosevelt then deal with the question of opening a second front? During the talk between Roosevelt and Molotov on 30 May, when Molotov asked Roosevelt to give a straightforward answer on the question of opening a second front, Roosevelt asked Marshall in front of Molotov whether "developments are now sufficiently clear for us to be able to tell Mr. Molotov that we are preparing to open up the second front," whereupon Marshall answered: "Yes." What needs to be noted here is that what Roosevelt asked of Marshall did not include the question of when the second front was to be opened; therefore, neither did the answer of Marshall as a military leader provide any value as "circumstantial evidence." Subsequently, Roosevelt asked Molotov to tell Stalin: "We estimate that the second front will be established this year." Then, however, Marshall quickly and emphatically enumerated a big pile of difficulties and made up a great deal more prerequisites required for the opening of a second front. When Roosevelt expressed complete agreement with the statement drafted by the Soviet Government delegation that, "concerning the urgent task of opening up a second front in Europe in 1942, the two sides have reached unanimous agreement," Marshall and the chief of the State Department's Russian Bureau, Henderson, both proffered different opinions, hoping that the year 1942 would not be mentioned in the statement or a provisional clause would be used to interpret it. But Roosevelt's answer was that "he expected precisely to include this point in the statement."³¹ The greatly puzzled Henderson was thus of the opinion that this "seems to have promised what we cannot do, and hence do not plan to do. This is not only taking on too much of an obligation, but even doing so falsely."³² Afterwards, "Roosevelt notified Marshall and King, and then he also notified Churchill, that the statement he made during the negotiations... was merely intended to give the Soviet Government some hope."³³ All this fully illustrates that the assurances given by Roosevelt on the opening of a second front in 1942 was but a deceptive blank check which nobody could cash!

When Molotov reached London on his way back to the Soviet Union, Churchill adopted a different approach from that of Roosevelt; he took the agreement on the opening of a second front in 1942 as something which was valuable only as propaganda but which also cautiously precluded the undertaking of any realistic obligations. Hence, while he signed a communique similar to the American-Soviet one with one hand, his other hand personally handed to Molotov that famous memorandum in which he had noted: "We are therefore unable to make any promises."³⁴

Two months later, when Churchill explained to Stalin in Moscow the reason why a second front could not be opened in Europe within the year, he still had those words "we are therefore unable to make any promises" in paragraph 3 of the memorandum he had personally handed to Molotov on 10 June to help relieve him of embarrassment.³⁵ But, Harriman, the special representative of the American president, had to recall, not without a cringing conscience, that at the time he "sent a reply to Stalin repeating Churchill's words... merely for the unequivocal record of the American side that 'concerning the second front, there has been no breaking of any promise.'"³⁶

During the antifascist World War II, the opening of a second front in Europe was extremely necessary to the socialist Soviet Union, which was struggling with untold difficulties and unsurpassed heroism against the main forces of the German Army, and the earlier the opening the better. Therefore, it was only proper that the Soviet Union should constantly press them to express their attitude. But it was also an objective fact that at the time the United States and Britain did not have the conditions for opening a second front. The fact that American and British leaders, especially Roosevelt, [said they would] undertake to open a second front in 1942, when conditions for it were not present, reflects a lack of confidence in the socialist Soviet Union on the part of the capitalist ruling cliques of the United States and Britain, as they were afraid of the Soviet Union's defeat on the battlefield on the one hand, and its conclusion of a separate peace with Germany on the other. Hence they used a capitalist political maneuver to falsely give an assurance in order to reassure the Soviet Union. Nor was this false working style anything strange to the long anticommunist American and British governments. But postwar Soviet works have the fact that the second front was not opened as the delaying tactics of the United States and Britain intended to weaken the Soviet Union, whereas personalities in the West have tried by one way or another to cover up the American and British falsehood or to vindicate it. Such explanations are not altogether in keeping with historical facts.

Apart from the struggle between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Britain and the United States on the other over whether a second front was to be opened, a serious struggle also existed between the United States and Britain over where to open a second front. Were we to simplify this struggle, we would tend to regard the capitalist countries that joined the antifascist war as one single monolith, and to thereby overlook the different economic and political interests that existed between Britain and the United States, or we would tend to interpret the contradictions between them as differences between the individual views and likings of the Soviet Union on the part of certain representative personalities, and to thereby disregard the class nature of these ruling personalities.

Between the United States and Britain there was a difference of opinion over whether to open the second front in the west or in the south of the European continent. Debates were vehement, and at times they rendered cooperation almost no longer feasible. America's argument was to open up the second front in the western part of the European continent. It held that in order to defeat Germany, it would be necessary to enter Western Europe directly to fight a frontal war with the German forces at an appropriate time so as to defeat them in a decisive battle between the main forces. For this reason, it was necessary to cross the English Channel, land on the northwestern coast of France, march toward Berlin, and thereby defeat Germany. This was because: 1. To the United States, this would be the shortest and most economical communication line, and good harbor facilities were also available; the turnaround time of the vessels would be accelerated, and efficiency of transportation would be enhanced. All this would be beneficial to a solution of the complicated and difficult problems encountered by the United States in its participation in the European war, such as the equipment and transportation of troops, the provision and reinforcement of rear services, etc. Besides, in an effort to maintain this Atlantic shipping line as Britain's lifeline, British and American war vessels had already been concentrated in this area since the outbreak of the war to protect the traffic; therefore, transportation of troops and equipment by way of this line would be relatively safe. 2. The British Isles were a base where large numbers of American troops in Britain would automatically reinforce the strength for the defense of Britain's home territory. This way, Britain could use for the offensive all its forces intended originally for the defense of its home territory. 3. The western part of Europe is closest to the British Isles, and this would make it easier for the British and American air forces, whose strength exceeded that of their German counterpart, to control the air during a large-scale landing operations and thereby cover the smooth execution of the channel-crossing attack. Therefore, the British Isles were the natural and fully equipped base which could concentrate all necessary forces in the shortest time for an attack against the western part of the European continent. As for the fact that an attack from the west would reduce pressure on the Soviet Union in its fight against Germany, this was a question considered only as "the last factor" when the United States formulated its plans.³⁷

Britain's argument was that a frontal, decisive battle with the main force of the German Army should be avoided; operations such as blockade, bombing, and support for the resistance movements of the people in the countries of continental Europe under German occupation should be undertaken first, in order to weaken Germany. At the same time, part of the [Allied] forces should be concentrated in secondary places to launch attacks, with a view to crushing the weak link of the Axis powers--Italy--so that German forces would be dissipated and gradually exhausted; then, at an appropriate time, a decisive blow could be executed at a relatively small price. Therefore, Britain advocated an attack by way of the Mediterranean Sea, proceeding northward from the Balkans to cut into Central Europe, and thereby to establish "a common front with the Soviet Union." Then, at an appropriate time, an attack across the channel against Western Europe could also be launched.

Why did such two sharply different strategic arguments emerge? What was the cause?

A fundamental goal of America's monopolist bourgeoisie in joining World War II was to crush its rival so as to become the dominant power in Europe and the world after the war. They considered Germany the greatest threat, and hence considered it the first enemy to defeat. In order to adjust the different domestic opinions toward "Germany first" or "Pacific first," Roosevelt needed to achieve victory over Germany quickly, so that all strength could be redirected to the defeat of Japan afterward. Also, an attack into Germany by way of France could quickly conquer and lead to the control of the Saar and Ruhr industrial districts, and this could thereby lead to the control of Germany and the whole of Europe. Such an outcome would be entirely in accord with the desires of the monopolist bourgeoisie in the United States. At the same time, they had the notion that they were in possession of the world's most powerful productive capability and rich manpower and material resources, and they were confident that, after sufficient preparations, they should be able to launch a frontal attack and destroy the main forces of the German army with one blow. Therefore, ever since it joined the war, it had insisted on such channel-crossing operations. This was the fundamental reason why "the Americans attempted to destroy the enemy's armed forces in the shortest period with the most direct means."³⁸

Declining rapidly but still attempting to retain its colonial system, Britain, because of the weaknesses of a serious lack of manpower and an extreme shortage of resources, was forced to rely on its alliance with the United States in order to maintain its endangered position; what it fought was basically a defensive war, and in the whole war it wanted only to "win a victory at not too great a price."³⁹ The fact that it wanted to open up a front in the Mediterranean was a reflection of this very thinking. The Mediterranean was an indispensable link in the chain which maintained the connections for Britain between the Middle East, the Far East, the vast territories, and the United Kingdom proper; hence, the importance of this region to Britain was next only to Britain's home territory itself. In order to establish its hegemony in the Mediterranean Sea to protect the colonial system of the British Empire, it needed both to maintain the interests already secured in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East and to extend its influence toward the western Mediterranean and Western Europe. This was why Churchill was opposed to landing first in Western Europe and "always set his eyes on the Balkans,"⁴⁰ insisting on launching the attack upon what he called this "soft underbelly" of Hitler.

The discord between Britain and the United States in strategic planning profoundly reflected how each attempted to have the outcome of the war be beneficial to its own respective interests. Therefore, the contradictions between them were a reflection of the struggle of the monopolist bourgeoisie of the two countries to seize world domination and divide the world market. At the same time, these two different plans also reflected the role played by the law of unevenness of imperialist economic and political development.

No. 1 imperialist Britain, which had once dominated the world, was now in rapid decline; Churchill, for instance, was always worried about opening up the second front in Western Europe. As he once said to Harriman: "If this 'war of the overlords' should lead to defeat, to the United States it would be merely losing a battle, but to Britons this would hint at the end of their military capability."⁴¹ His words were indeed a vivid reflection of the situation of "flowers helplessly dropping to the ground" in which the British Empire found itself. But American imperialism, as a late upstart, had by this time not only long surpassed Britain economically, but also was catching up with and surpassing Britain militarily; it was getting restless trying to take over the leading position in the capitalist world from Britain. Therefore, these two different strategic plans also incidentally reflected the profound changes in relative British and American economic and military strengths.

Since such different interests existed between the United States and Britain, a "strategic tug of war" was bound to take place when uniform war plans were formulated.⁴² Such discord persisted from America's entry into the war right up to the opening of the second front; it sometimes seemed almost on the verge of sending the two countries on their separate ways.

Although the United States enjoyed superiority in numbers of military personnel and in large quantities of weapons and equipment when it first joined the war, when its strengths in these aspects could still not be immediately demonstrated on the other shore of the Atlantic, and when the implementation of its strategic plan had to rely on the military capability of Britain in order to become operational, it would encounter resistance by Britain. For instance, in April 1942, when the two sides proceeded to formulate a united war plan, the United States proposed the contingency measure of landing in the western part of Europe as a "ramrod" on the basis of its military criterion of "early victory and few casualties";⁴³ but this battle action would have made Britain supply almost all the naval and air force units and two-thirds of the army units, as well as all usable landing craft. This reliance on Britain to shoulder the main burden naturally met British opposition. By 10 July 1942, a deadlock remained in the debate over the question as to whether the American plan to use the northern part of France, or the British plan to use the northern part of Africa, to open up a new front was to be followed. At this time, U.S. military leaders tried to resort to a forceful tack to put pressure on Britain, by making it known that if Britain did not agree to carry out the "Ramrod" action plan, the United States would then "turn to the Pacific." But after 5 days of repeated deliberations, Roosevelt withdrew this ultimatum-like threat.⁴⁴

Even with such sharp contradictions, the united war action between the United States and Britain was still carried forward, because "America's policymakers regarded military cooperation with Britain as feasible, and their point of departure was that America's security could not otherwise be assured."⁴⁵ Britain was the bulwark and shield it won for a period of preparation in its early fight against Germany, and also the base and staging area for its attack on continental Europe; hence Britain was its indispensable partner

to win this war. For the British, its need for America's aid was even more urgent; "without such aid, they would be able to accomplish nothing except to prolong their feeble existence."⁴⁶ Precisely because antifascism as a fundamental common interest did exist, even while Britain and the United States tried to adopt their respective strategic plans, and thereby continued to get into quarrels, they also mutually made necessary concessions to each other. The battles of North Africa, Sicily, and Italy on the so-called "third front" (i.e., the southern Mediterranean front) were the very products of such contradictions and compromises. Precisely because of this, there was neither a second front opened in 1943, nor any expected result from the battle of Italy on the third front. Let me mention in passing, why was the second front which Churchill had promised to Stalin in August 1942 still not opened up in 1943? From existing data, a pertinent conclusion is still hard to reach, but the contradictions and compromises between Britain and the United States were undoubtedly an important factor which played a relevant role.

But the United States, after all, did not join the war effort in the interests of the British Empire. Therefore, when Churchill insisted on replacing the American plan with the Mediterranean front as the main European front, Roosevelt was of the opinion: "We have no reason to sacrifice the lives of more American soldiers for the protection of the British Empire's interests on the European continent, real or imagined."⁴⁷ Along with America's increasing military strength in fighting fascism, it also increasingly compelled Britain to accept its plan to cross the channel and open up the second front in the western part of Europe. Churchill bragged that his attitude toward the United States was to "bend but not yield";⁴⁸ but at the Tehran Conference, when Roosevelt and Stalin shared the same views, he had no recourse except to bend.

With the forceful demands and fervent expectations of antifascist people throughout the world, and after repeated struggles and long preparations, it was not until the Tehran Conference of the heads of state of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain, held from 28 November to 1 December 1943, that a unanimous agreement was reached: the decision was to open up a second front in northern France in May 1944. The reason this agreement could be reached was because, on the one hand, the antifascist alliance had turned from defensive to offensive action and had become stronger and stronger through the series of victories at the battle of Stalingrad, the battle of North Africa, the battle of Kursk, and the surrender of Italy. On the other hand, because of Stalin's resolute demand and Roosevelt's firm attitude, Churchill was forced to abandon his persistent argument for launching the main attack from the Mediterranean.

When the salvos of the guns of World War II ultimately shook the skies over Normandy in northern France, all the world's antifascist forces extended their congratulations. When Mao Zedong received the Chinese and foreign journalist delegation to the northwest, he "expressed great felicitations" on the opening of the second front.⁴⁹ Stalin pointed out on 11 June: "History will record this event as an unsurpassed achievement."⁵⁰

But certain postwar Soviet works hold that the second front was opened only after the Soviet Union had undertaken its obligations; that when the Allied forces landed in Normandy to fight, they met almost no resistance; that in the face of the German Army's counterattack in the Ardennes region, it was only the support of Soviet forces that prevented the Allied forces from suffering a defeat; etc. Do these assertions correspond to facts? History itself is the best answer.

At the Tehran Conference in 1943, the heads of state of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain proceeded to discuss the long-pending question of the opening of the second front. In the afternoon of 30 November, the headquarters of the British-American united chiefs of staff, with the participation of Roosevelt and Churchill, made the decision to carry out the opening of the second front under the codename "Overlord" in May 1944. When the heads of state of the three countries had dinner together, Roosevelt informed Stalin of the decision made by the headquarters of the British-American united chiefs of staff. After hearing this, Stalin happily indicated that when this battle started, the Soviet Union would coordinate with them. At the plenary session of the delegations of the three countries in the afternoon, Roosevelt formally announced that Stalin had been formally notified of the decision concerning the opening of the second front, and Britain's chief of general staff, Brooke, was asked to represent Britain and the United States to make a report on the decision to the plenary session. After Brooke's report, Stalin also immediately announced that the Soviet forces "would organize large-scale attacks in certain areas prior to May in order to pin down the German forces in the eastern front to keep them from giving "Overlord" any difficulties."⁵¹ Here, Stalin took on the lofty task of coordinating with the Allied forces, but not until the landing operations on the second front got started was the Soviet Government notified that the battle had begun. And the Soviet Union's "Operation Bagration" was started on 23 June and not developed into a general attack until early July.

Through the above fact, it can be seen that Stalin took on this obligation only after the decision on the opening of the second front was made, and did not offer it as a quid pro quo. The "Operation Bagration" opened by the Soviet forces in late June 1944, in terms of its timing and actual conditions, could not be regarded as a prerequisite for opening the second front. It should be said that this was a military action of coordinated warfare between the antifascist allies, and there are no grounds here for alleging that it was only after the Soviet Union took on such an obligation that the second front was opened.

The landing at Normandy, as the overture for the opening of the second front, was delayed from May and not carried out until June because the scale of attack exceeded the original plan (from three divisions expanded to five divisions for the initial landing) and because of climate conditions. This battle (6 June-15 August) was divided into two stages: in the first stage (6 June-25 July), the two sides struggled for the beachhead and assembled the necessary reserves; in the second stage (25 July-25 August), the Allied forces launched their large-scale attack until Paris was liberated.

At 2 a.m. on 6 June 1944, the Normandy battle was opened by three parachute divisions of about 23,000 men dropping behind the German forces. Then at 6:30 a.m., after bombing by the air force and bombardment by the navy, the first contingent of troops landed on the beach; the advance troops consisted of eight divisions (including three parachute divisions). Participating in this strike were more than 10,000 warplanes, nearly 2,000 transport planes, and more than 4,000 vessels and craft of various types and sizes (about 200 war vessels, 4,266 craft). That same day, 156,000 men landed on five different beachheads.⁵² Because the Allied forces controlled the air and the sea-lanes, and because of the powerful bombing and bombardment of the air force and the navy prior to the landing and the lack of preparations on the part of the German forces, the landing operations proceeded smoothly. By 12 June, the various beachheads were already combined into one stretch. But viewed from its entirety, and especially the proceedings during its initial stage, the battle was still bitterly fought. The struggle for the beachheads did not end until 25 July; the front line which the Allied forces had planned to occupy within 5 days after the landing was not generally secured until the 50th day.⁵³ The reason why the fighting was so fierce and so bitter was because the German soldiers stood fast in their trenches and were unwilling to give up a single inch of their territory, and also because the German commanding headquarters had done a lot of preparatory work along the northern French coast. The fascists drove 50,000 foreign laborers to build a great many defense works. At the end of 1943, Hitler still despatched Rommel to inspect the war preparations in these areas. Just before the landing by the Allied forces, the German commanding headquarters deployed 58-60 divisions, including 10 armored divisions and 3 parachute divisions, along the region of Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg, which were organized into two army groups. Army Group "B" under the command of Rommel had about 41 divisions stationed in northern France and the Belgium-Holland-Luxembourg area; of these, 27 divisions of the picked 15th Group Army were stationed in the vicinity of Calais, and the 41 divisions of the 7th Group Army were deployed in the Normandy area. The 1st Group Army and the 19th Group Army under Army Group "G" commanded by (Laskovitz) guarded the Atlantic coast of western France and the Mediterranean shore of southern France.⁵⁴ The German fascists bragged a great deal about this. This was the "Atlantic Wall," against which the Allied forces could not possibly withstand more than a few hours after landing; the Allied forces would be driven into the sea by the (Leer) armored division alone.⁵⁵

In light of this situation, Stalin said: "This is going to be a formidable battle; the German soldiers in France are going to put up a fanatic resistance."⁵⁶ The commander of the Allied expeditionary army, Eisenhower, drafted two telegrams prior to this battle. One was to be issued as the order to advance after landing; the other was to be issued as a communique upon defeat. The content of the latter was: "Our forces landed in the Cherbourg-Le Havre area but failed to secure an appropriate foothold. I have already ordered the troops to withdraw. My decision to attack at this time in this area has been made on the basis of the most reliable intelligence in our hands. The army, the navy, and the air force units have all done their

duty and fought heroically. If there were any shortcomings or mistakes, they should be my personal responsibility."⁵⁷ This shows that the leader of the Allied forces had foreseen how formidable the fighting was going to be and was even prepared to face defeat.

The success of the Normandy landing operations was not achieved very easily. The reason this battle was won was, for one thing, that it was carefully planned and prepared for a long time:

1. An expeditionary force of 2,876,439 men, including 39 divisions from Britain, the United States and others, was concentrated in London, together with 15,776 planes and over 6,000 ships. Two manmade harbors and an undersea oil pipeline were also prepared. In addition, another coordinated action by a 10-division force landing in southern France from the Mediterranean was planned; and in the United States, 41 more divisions were ready to move.⁵⁸

2. Before the landing, the fierce bombing of coastal areas of northern Germany and France was intensified; warplanes mobilized for the operation increased sharply, from 30,000 sorties in April to 65,000 sorties in May.⁵⁹ This greatly weakened Germany's air defense and military industry and oil production. The large-scale bombing, concentrated on the main communications and supply lines along the coast in northern France in particular, completely paralyzed the railway transportation in this region, and this created great difficulties for Germany in the transfer of troops and the supply of rear services.

3. There was a news blackout on the landing operations. Before the channel crossing, the British Government, apart from cutting off the connections that the attack base had with the outside, also adopted an extraordinary measure: suspending diplomatic connections with foreign countries. Embassies of the various countries were restrained from sending out encrypted telegrams, and even diplomatic pouches were delayed in their dispatch.

4. Efforts were made to effect a diversionary tactic to confuse the commanding headquarters of the German forces. The narrowest place for crossing the channel from London is the Straits of Dover; hence the Calais area across the Straits of Dover was under close guard by the German forces. In order to avoid this solidly defended area and strike at an unguarded area, the Allied forces selected the more distant and harborless Normandy as the landing spot. But for the sake of confusing the German forces, troop exercise and false concentrations of men were staged in the Dover area; a large number of telegraphic messages were sent from that area, too, and the well-known General Patton of the U.S. armored forces was purposely allowed to appear in that area in a flaunting manner so as to make the German forces believe the commanding headquarters of the Allied forces for the channel-crossing operations and the troop-concentration location were entirely in the Dover area. When the bombing of the coastal area of northern France was carried out, it was thus purposely concentrated on the Calais area, and before the landing, the bombing of other areas was suspended in order to concentrate on Calais. Just prior to landing, metal particles were dropped to create interference so that what radar stations the German forces had left were given to understand that the Allied fleet was sailing toward the Calais area. All this, of course, was

meant to create a false impression in order to have the commanding headquarters of the German forces concentrate its attention on the Calais area and consequently assemble its forces there, so that, thus with German attention and preparations diverted elsewhere, the strike against Normandy could be effectively executed. Just as Stalin later pointed out: "We cannot but acknowledge that, in terms of its careful planning, its large scale, and its dextrous execution, this action had no comparable precedent in the history of war.... The event will be recorded in history as a first-rate achievement."⁶⁰

Another reason for the success of the Normandy landing operations was the misjudgment and erroneous orders by the German commanding headquarters itself. Prior to the event, the German commanding headquarters knew nothing about the time or place of the Allied landing. In addition, the weather was very bad prior to the landing, and so the German military chiefs at various levels at headquarters on the western front all thought that, under such conditions, landing operations were unlikely. Hence, were all the field commanders absent from their commanding quarters. When the landing battle got underway, the German commanding headquarters still thought that the Normandy landing was a false attack meant by the Allied forces to deceive them; it therefore failed to direct the highly mobile armored units to counterattack in full force. On that day, except for five infantry divisions and one armored division which were engaged in the fighting, another two select armored divisions near Normandy (the armored division and the 12th armored division of the S.S.) were simply not mobilized to join the battle because approval had not been received from Hitler.⁶¹ Churchill was of the opinion that this was when Hitler "missed his opportunity and wasted that whole day on which his security depended."⁶² Britain's well-known historian Hart Liddell maintained that if the German forces had used the three armored divisions for the counterattack from the beginning, "the foothold of the Allied forces would not have been consolidated in time and become stabilized, and they would have been driven into the sea."⁶³ Later, because the lines of communication had already been destroyed, German reinforcements reached the battlefield in different contingents only after long marches. As the fighting was most fierce, they were sent into battle one contingent after another before they could be assembled, and hence they were also exhausted one contingent after another. This way, in making the decision as to [the location of the] landing or as to a counter-attack against the landing forces, and in acquiring speed to concentrate forces for this purpose as the key to success, the German forces increasingly fell behind the Allied forces. On 12 June, the landing Allied forces numbered over 326,500 men in 16 divisions, exceeding the 14 divisions thrown into the battle by the German forces. By the 19th, while the German forces were augmented by two divisions of reinforcements, the Allied forces by then already had landed almost 500,000 men in 20 divisions.⁶⁴ Not until the middle of July did the German commanding headquarters realize, after seeing Allied forces landing at the rate of more than 25,000-30,000 men every day, that there could not be a landing of greater scale in the Calais area, and only then did they belatedly send the 15th Group Army to the Normandy battlefield in a hurry. By then, the disembarked Allied forces already exceeded 1 million men.⁶⁵ The great mistake was already made, and the prospect of defeat became irrevocable for Hitler.

From 25 July on, the Normandy battle went into its second stage. The Allied forces launched their attack with the strength of 32 divisions (of which one was a parachute division and eight were armored divisions).⁶⁶ Although the number of German forces increased to 65 divisions, those launched into battle for the frontal encounter were only about 29 divisions (of which 9 were armored divisions).⁶⁷ The Allied assault was coordinated from land and air from the outset, with more than 1,500 planes mobilized for fierce bombing missions over a German defense area of less than 13 square kilometers; this resulted in great losses to the German forces. But on 7 August the German forces were still able to mount a counterattack with a heavy concentration of men in the Mortain area; the Allied forces stood their ground first with one division, and then with three additional divisions of reinforcement against the counterattack by seven German divisions (two of which were armored divisions). Because the Allied forces were not afraid of sacrifices and fought heroically and stubbornly, plus the fact that coordination by the French armed forces in the struggle for the liberation of their own motherland "played an inestimable role," the counterattack by the German forces this time was dealt an ignominious defeat, with about 10 divisions of them taken prisoner.⁶⁸ On 15 August, another contingent of Allied forces landed from the Mediterranean in the vicinity of Cannes in southern France and marched northward; the general situation in the French battlefield was now largely settled. In order to avoid annihilation, the German forces withdrew in confusion. Thus the Normandy battle, which lasted 2-1/2 months, ended in triumph under the strong support of a "contribution equivalent to 15 divisions of men"⁶⁹ by the French resistance movement and with the uprising of the people in Paris as De Gaulle's 2d French Armored Division marched into Paris.

The opening of the second front was another turningpoint in the antifascist war in Europe. From then on, the armed forces of the European antifascist alliance coordinated with one another from the eastern, western, and southern flanks in a joint attack upon the German fascists; this brought the war into the final, decisive stage in the smashing of the German fascists. During the Normandy battle, the overture in the opening of the second front, the German forces lost about 400,000 men, of whom half were taken prisoner. They also lost considerable equipment, including 1,300 tanks, 2,000 artillery pieces, 3,500 planes, and 20,000 vehicles of various kinds. In this war of liberation for France which extended straight to the western border of Germany, casualties of the Allied forces also amounted to nearly 210,000 men.⁷⁰ Therefore, this amphibious landing battle of the greatest scale in the history of war in the world--the Normandy battle--was of similar significance to the battle of Stalingrad, and the brilliant victory won in this battle was also an extremely luminous page in the antifascist World War II!

Although a brilliant victory was won in the Normandy battle, it did not imply the total collapse of the German fascists. In the face of the Allied assault, the fascists staged a total mobilization. By measures such as reducing the rear services, inducting into the army those naval and air force personnel shorn of their vessels and planes, as well as police, and expanding conscription (with men 15 to 60 years of age drafted into the armed forces),

they built 25 "people's infantry divisions." From September to October, they also sent reinforcements of 50,000 men into the army⁷¹ and fiercely fought Allied forces at Arnhem in Holland, in the vicinity of Antwerp in Belgium, in the Colman region of France, and in the Hartgen Forest at the German border. Taking advantage of the relative calm on the eastern front after October, Hitler, with the 6th Armored Group Army of his picked S.S. guards as the main force, also assembled a shock force totaling 34 divisions equipped with 2,500 tanks and automated artillery pieces and 3,000 planes, and launched a desperate surprise attack in the Ardennes area.⁷² Hitler tried by means of this counterattack to regain initiative on the western front and thereby to drive the Allied forces into the sea, make them lose confidence, and hence salvage his own endangered situation. On 16 December, 28 divisions of German forces launched this counterthrust in a three-prong operation in the Ardennes area. During the first week, this surprise attack was effective; but Hitler had an insurmountable basic weakness--the German shortage in personnel and equipment. Thus, when this German adventurist plot of trying to maintain the fighting power of their armored units by relying on the seizure of the fuel of the Allied forces came to naught, the Allied forces again put up a resolute fight to stop them and called up a large number of reinforcements. In addition, the weather happened to clear up just when a large number of Allied planes were sent out on their strike mission on the 23rd; by then the German offensive had thus been forced to taper off decisively, and around Christmas (25 December) the fighting once more began to be stabilized.⁷³ On 22 December and 3 January, the allied forces started to counter-attack from the south and the north. On the evening of 7 January, Stalin, in response to Churchill's request, decided to launch a winter offensive of unprecedented scale on the eastern front 8 days ahead of schedule, launching it on the 12th; this made it impossible for Hitler to once more assemble enough reinforcements on the western front to salvage his prospect of defeat. Churchill called this early offensive on the part of the Soviet forces "something really terrific," "an act of righteousness in launching a large-scale attack ahead of time, irrespective of heavy sacrifices."⁷⁴ This was indeed a typical example of mutual support between the antifascist allies in coordinating their war effort. But certain Soviet works unduly exaggerated this event, declaring that Allied forces on the western front were saved from collapse only by the Soviet offensive. They allege that the 6th Armored Group Army of the German S.S. guards, the main force of the counteroffensive in the Ardennes, ceased its attack on the western front on the very day the Soviet forces launched their offensive, and within only 5 or 6 days it was shifted to the Soviet-German front to resist the Soviet offensive. The actual state of affairs was that the war situation on the western front had become generally stabilized just a week after the launching of the German counteroffensive. By 28 December, both the German commander on the western front and the commanding officer of the 5th Armored Group Army which participated in the counteroffensive saw the drawback in the attack: the attacking German troops were exposed in the middle, vulnerable to a pincer operation by the Allied forces. They therefore suggested that the exposed units be withdrawn in order to preserve their strength.⁷⁵ On 7 January, the two contingents of Allied forces counterattacking from the south and the north were less than 13 kilometers from each other, and the developing situation was becoming increasingly dangerous to the German forces. Only then did Hitler agree to the plan he had refused to accept 10 days earlier, and on 8 January he ordered the 6th Armored Group Army of the S.S. guards to be with-

drawn from the exposed area. At that time, the winter offensive of the Red Army had not yet started. On 16 January, the two Allied contingents counterattacking from the south and the north joined forces. On 22 January, the 6th Armored Group Army of the S.S. guards was called to the eastern front to guard the only German fuel base left--the Austro-Hungarian oilfields.⁷⁶

The Ardennes counteroffensive, which was given the codename "war of grief" by the fascists, was turned into a great defeat by the loss of 12,000 men, 600 tanks and automated artillery pieces, and 1,600 planes.⁷⁷ Nay, this frustration of the adventure on the western front served to accelerate the fascist defeat on the eastern front, whereas the ignominious defeat on the eastern front also prompted their rapid collapse on the western front. Within 100 days after the conclusion of the Ardennes battle, Hitler's Third Reich finally collapsed under the pincer attacks by the Soviet and Allied forces from the east and the west.

After we have reviewed the entire historical process of the opening of the second front, we feel deeply that if we make a simple conclusion on complicated historical events, the reliability of such a conclusion may turn out to be questionable. In addition, if a certain amount of prejudice is involved, such a conclusion would be even further removed from historical reality. Since the conclusion of World War II, two sharply different appraisals have been made on the question of the opening of the second front. Certain works published in the Soviet Union often stress that even without the second front the Soviet Union would have defeated Hitler singlehandedly, whereas some personalities in the West choose for their part to propagate the opening of the second front purely as a righteous act of aiding the Soviet Union. In reality, both understandings are incomplete.

As has been shown above, the opening of the second front was not realized in 1942 but postponed to 1944 for many reasons. But this did not by any means cause it to lose its due status in World War II. Nor did it lose its importance to the Soviet Union. We all know that on the eve of the opening of the second front, the situation on the Soviet-German front was this: except when the Soviet forces ventured outside the country in fighting along part of the border between the Soviet Union, and about a quarter of Soviet territory was still not liberated. In an order issued as the supreme commander on 1 May, 1944, Stalin pointed out that the task of pursuing the enemy "can be accomplished only on the basis of a common effort by the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain, with our troops attacking from the east and our allies attacking from the west in a coordinated manner. There is no doubt that only such coordinated blows will suffice in completely smashing Hitler Germany."⁷⁸ A few days after the opening of the second front, Mao Zedong pointed out: "With the opening of the second front, the attack has made another stride forward; without it, it is impossible to defeat Hitler."⁷⁹ From this, we can see that even though in terms of the general developing trend the prospect of defeat for the German fascists was already evident, in order to win final victory it was still necessary to do so through a common effort of the antifascist allies, and it would be impossible to

defeat Hitler by relying on the Soviet Union alone. Factually this was precisely so, since after the opening of the second front the German forces became dispersed, with the German divisions fighting on the eastern front reduced to only 55.6-60 percent of the total German forces.⁸⁰ It was only because of the coordinated action between the Soviet and Allied forces that in the subsequent series of battles the German forces were tired out, unable to look after themselves between the eastern and the western fronts, defeated at every turn, and ultimately annihilated. Of course, from the standpoint of Britain and the United States, the measure of opening a second front was taken first of all from their own desire to defeat the German fascists and not, nor could it have been, meant as a righteous act purely to aid the Soviet Union. And if there had been no first front in the antifascist war--the Soviet-German front to pin down most of the German forces, the opening of the second front would have encountered great difficulties. Hence, the strategic function of the second front was nothing more than the antifascist allies coordinating among themselves from east and west, helping each other, smashing the military forces of the German fascists, and thereby securing victory in the war. Besides, after the opening of the second front, a state of confusion resulted in the German commanding headquarters, and this was what led to the attempted assassination of Hitler on 20 July. Meanwhile, the opening of the second front also constituted an encouragement to the people of the occupied countries of Europe, which caused the people in these countries to stir up a high tide of armed struggle of an even larger scale. The fact that the French people liberated Paris with their own armed forces was a typical example.

Looking back at the second front as a whole, we see that from its opening to the surrender of Germany, 11 months elapsed; Allied forces actually participating in the fighting on this front ultimately reached 85 divisions (of which 5 were parachute divisions and 23 were armored divisions) with a total of more than 4 million men (of whom more than 3 million were American and about 1 million British). The German forces on this front made up about one quarter of the total of all German forces.⁸¹ It should be pointed out that the second front was the main battlefield on the western front and not the only battlefield. If the strength that the Allied forces threw in on the entire western front, which included the Mediterranean battlefield, is combined, the total would be 108 divisions, and the German forces pinned down by them would be 40-44.4 percent of the total German forces.⁸²

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9255

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' COMMENTS ON U.S. RECESSION

HK050802 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 May 80 p 7

[Economic notes by Gu Jin: "Interest Rates, Inflation and 'Recession'"]

[Text] The annual rate of retail prices in the United States has increased by 18 percent this year and the prime lending rates of major U.S. commercial banks have also been raised to 20 percent. The soaring of prices, interest rates and various expenses in addition to the credit squeeze has made those U.S. industrialists, bankers, farmers and ordinary customers who are badly in need of money complain constantly.

The fact that major U.S. commercial banks have increased their prime lending rates to as high as 20 percent was shocking. It was said this was the first time in 141 years that U.S. interest rates had gone up so high. Practicing usury is a disgusting activity held in contempt by people at all times and in all countries. Shylock, a usurer in Shakespeare's comedy "The Merchant of Venice," was a typical bloodsucker. However, to subdue the wild beast of inflation, the U.S. Government and financial authorities were forced to adopt the unwelcome policy of high interest rates, although market credits could be tightened immediately as a result of the implementation of this policy.

The reason why high interest rates can curb inflation is because the higher the interest rates are raised, the fewer the number of money borrowers. Thus the amount and speed of currency circulation will be slowed down accordingly and the market demand for commodities will be slackened. Once supply exceeds demand, the excessive increase of prices will be checked or only increase slightly, or they may even drop. When this occurs, the market "boom" will naturally disappear along with the "recession." This is the reason why a "recession" is used to cure inflation.

However, it is not easy to endure inflation and particularly an economic "recession." A recession is bad-tasting medicine. In addition, the more severe inflation becomes, the more such bitter medicine should be prescribed. As a result, the more serious "recession" follows. Due to the

fact that economic recession will frequently cause social upheavals and instability, the policy of raising interest rates to curb inflation should be adopted cautiously. Actually, as early as in 1978, the Carter administration had already planned to use the method of "mild recession," "slow economic decline" or "splash down" to curb domestic inflation. Therefore, the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank raised the interest rates for its loans to commercial banks starting at 6 percent at the end of 1977 and increasing it to 6.37 percent, 6.5 percent, 6.84 percent, 7 percent, 7.23 percent and 7.43 percent... In other words, the step was taken in a prudent way. However, due to the fact that not enough medicine was prescribed and the steps were too weak, the expected "recession" failed to occur. In addition, price increases sometimes exceeded that of interest rates. As a result, inflation gained momentum. Last March, the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank which was greatly concerned about skyrocketing prices was compelled to raise its loan interest to commercial banks to 13 percent, plus 3 percent additional interest. In other words, major U.S. commercial banks had to borrow money from the federal bank at an interest as high as 14 percent. When they lent their money to others, they naturally had to increase the lending rate to 20 percent.

Such a high-interest policy could not but exert great pressure on economy. Hence the long-expected "recession" finally occurred. Spending on housing in the United States plunged to a 36-year low during the first quarter of this year. Early in May, the sales volume of the three biggest U.S. car companies, "General Motors," "Ford" and "Chrysler," dropped sharply by 42.8 percent. The unemployment rate for adults in April was the biggest 1-month increase in more than 30 years... The harmful effects of high interest rates were so enormous that it was absolutely impossible to maintain such a policy for a long time. Furthermore, the increase of wholesale prices declined by two-thirds in April, the rise of fuel prices was slowed down and food prices dropped. Under such circumstances, the Federal Reserve Bank hastily abrogated its 3 percent extra interest. Taking a hint from Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, various U.S. major commercial banks such as the City Bank of New York, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., the Chase Manhattan Bank, Bank of Manhattan and the United States Trust Co., and so forth decreased their prime lending rates ranging from 16 to 16.5 percent.

Once the terrifying economic "recession" appeared, the high-interest policy could no longer hold its ground and was abrogated hurriedly, although the present battle to curb inflation has been far from achieving its expected results. This is the present situation facing the Washington authorities.

Will the high interest rates be dropped again? This is, of course, what the severe economic "recession" has required. However, such an act will further aggravate internal inflation. In particular, under the present conditions that the purchasing power of greenbacks has increasingly declined and the international foreign exchange markets strongly need

the stability of U.S. dollars, it is even more necessary to increase interest rates to enhance the "charm" of the greenbacks.

Actually, the fact that the exchange rate of the U.S. dollars had been increased and stabilized since this year was mainly due to the high interest rates in the United States. The U.S. dollars were more attractive to idle money in the international markets. Therefore, there was a greater demand for U.S. dollars in the markets. However, due to the recent decrease of interest rates in the United States and increase in West European countries, the exchange rate of the U.S. dollar has again dropped. Under such circumstances, dare the U.S. financial authorities further drop their interest rates?

It will not work to increase or decrease interest rates. This is really a matter of great annoyance. Such a thorny problem of interest rates explicitly reflects the present complicated contradictions in the U.S. economy.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' REPORTER ON BLACK RIOTS IN MIAMI

HK281140 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 May 80 p 7

[Newsletter from the United States by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Zhang Yan [1728 1750]: "Revelations of the Black Riots"]

[Text] It seems that 18 May was a day destined for eruptions of volcanoes. As lava rushed out and thick smoke filled the air over Mount St Helens in northwest Washington, another volcano erupted in Miami, Florida on the southeast coast.

But this was a manmade volcano--thousands upon thousands of blacks took to the streets and waged the first large-scale riot against racial discrimination in more than 10 years. The city of Miami with a population of 350,000 became a sea of fire. The nights were as bright as daylight, with endless sounds of gunfire and angry black people running wild. The predominantly black "Liberty City" area with a circumference of 20 miles became a battleground. The government declared a curfew and fully armed national guardsmen were sent to join the police in opening fire to suppress the riots. According to reports, after 3 days and nights of terror, 16 people were killed, 350 seriously wounded and 700 arrested. Property losses were estimated at at least \$100 million. As of the moment this report is being written, the riots have subsided. However, "Liberty City" has been reduced to ashes. Smoke and flames still come out of the ruins and armed guards and police are still roaming about. President Carter has already dispatched the attorney general and a team of officials to handle the situation. Along with the state of Washington where a volcano erupted, Miami was declared a national "disaster area," with the government ready to give assistance. The President himself is also going there for an inspection.

The immediate cause of this large-scale riot was a court decision handed down on the afternoon of 17 May. On 17 December last year, a black motorcyclist, MacDuffie, was chased by white policemen for running a red light and later beaten to death. The police tampered with the records and claimed that he died in a traffic accident. After the affair, the public prosecutor amid great controversy charged the four white policemen.

Each hearing held by the court aroused strong reactions from blacks in Miami to the extent that the hearing had to be moved to another city in the state to avoid conflicts. After 39 days of hearings, the jury, composed of white jurors, proclaimed to the amazement of all the four white policemen "innocent." When the decision was announced over television, it was like sparks falling on dried wood, immediately kindling the flames of fury of the blacks in Miami and starting a great riot which startled the whole nation.

The reason for a volcanic eruption is due to lava in the earth seething to an uncontrollable level. The reason thousands upon thousands of blacks rose up in resistance was that they could stand no more. We need not mention the distant past. Just last year, there were a series of incidents wherein blacks were persecuted. For instance, white policemen forced their way into the residence of a black teacher on the pretext of pursuing drug pushers. They ransacked the place and beat up the man but it turned out that they had the wrong address. The black teacher filed a case in court but nothing came out of it. Another white policeman shot an innocent black youth, but the court acquitted him saying that his gun "went off accidentally." An 11-year-old black girl was raped by a white highway patrol. A first judge sentenced him to a probation center with no suspension of sentence allowed. But a second judge, totally disregarding this, suspended the sentence. Worse still, a nationally known black educator and local Miami school inspector passed sentences on the basis of so-called economic problems. But it is generally believed that the real basis, to a very large extent, is racial discrimination. This intensified the discontent among blacks. Because of this, some people had predicted as early as several months ago that "the (MacDuffie) case will be a time bomb in a racial struggle." This prediction has turned out to be accurate.

However, it is popularly held that the root cause of the riots lies even deeper. At present, the poor black people occupying the lowest place in American society are the hardest hit by inflation and economic recession. The conditions of blacks in Miami are even worse. Latest statistics on unemployment show that unemployment among whites (including Cuban immigrants) is only 8 percent, but 17 percent among blacks. Within Florida, 10 percent of those living below the poverty line are non-Latin American whites, 18 percent Latin American whites (including Cubans) and as high as 38 percent blacks. After President Carter recently announced an "open arms" policy, Cuban refugees rushed in in waves. The ones most seriously threatened by this are the blacks whose unemployment rate will grow even higher as a result. In contrast, the American Government has adopted a very different policy toward the black Haitian refugees. It restricts or prohibits their landing. This is like adding fuel to the fire for the already furious Miami black people.

The great impact the black riots in Miami had in the United States is shown by the fact that almost all major newspapers published solemn

editorials and substantial columns on this subject. Editorials of major newspapers in America all emphasized the fact that Miami is not an isolated incident. They all expressed concern about the chain reaction that could be started off by this. "Every American city has a Miami." (The NEW YORK TIMES editorial, using the words of a famous black leader.) "The Miami riots have shaken the people of the entire country. The reactions of various areas should be closely observed." (The WASHINGTON POST) "The Miami riots remind us that deep-seated social problems are still threatening the internal tranquility of the United States." (The WASHINGTON STAR) Columnist Mary McGrory pointed out bluntly: "The riots might have the sobering effect of a blow on the head of the whole nation. The problem of unemployment among blacks, especially among black young people, is a dangerous sign." Her conclusion was: "The nation has been warned. Riots could happen again."

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON PLIGHT OF AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS

HK031002 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 May 80 p 3

[Article by Dong Mei [0392 2734]: "The Condition and Ideological Trend of the Middle Class in the United States"]

[Text] The middle class is a social class that comprises quite a large number of people in American society. It actually includes individuals and families with middle level income and this mostly includes small enterprise owners, small farmers, small businessmen, ordinary executives and middle and high ranking employees, doctors, teachers, engineers and other professionals and technicians in the higher income bracket. According to estimates in relevant articles in the NEW YORK TIMES, in U.S. society, rich families (with an annual income of over \$50,000) constitute 2 percent of the population; low income families (with an annual income of less than \$8,000) constitute 22 percent; and families with a middle level income constitute 76 percent. Middle income families are further subdivided into lower middle, middle middle and upper middle class (annual incomes of \$8,000 to \$15,000, \$15,000 to \$25,000 and \$25,000 to \$50,000 respectively), and they constitute 28, 32 and 16 percent of the total number of American families respectively. The figures enumerated here are just a general estimate. These figures are constantly changing with the developments in the social and economic conditions in the United States.

The middle class has been a more or less stable class in U.S. society. But since the 1970's, due to the fall in the power of the United States, the "stagflation" of the economy and increases in taxes and rising prices, their lives have become harder. According to statistics, during the 1960's, the real annual income of middle income families rose by 3 percent each year. But from 1970 to 1978, it rose only by 0.8 percent. During the economic crisis from 1973 to 1975, real income actually dropped. Income in 1979 compared with 1972, dropped by 8 percent. Due to the drop in real income, the middle class must change its lifestyle. Many housewives must go out to work to maintain the previous standard of living. Some of them who cannot really afford good houses in the suburbs have to make do with repairing old houses in the downtown area. Some have

been feeling the burden of sending their children to private colleges. Some are forced to do away with vacations abroad or travel within the United States. Some have to reduce their savings or acquire more loans. Some resort to sewing their own clothes, planting vegetables and other means to save on expenses. Before, the middle class used to think that "as long as one works hard and manages with care, the future will be great." Now, they do not see any assurance for the future. Their frustration with the American social system is slowly growing.

The middle class is the stratum bearing the heaviest burden of taxes among American taxpayers. One main source of income of the U.S. Federal Government is individual income tax (constituting 45 percent of total revenue), and 58 percent of individual income tax is paid by the middle class with an annual income of \$15,000 to \$50,000. Due to the fact that they still have to pay social security tax, property tax and other taxes, usually 30 percent of their income goes to pay taxes. Counting the factor of inflation, although their income has increased nominally and they move to a higher tax bracket, their real income has been decreasing while they are paying more and more in taxes. According to U.S. Internal Revenue regulations, families of four earning less than \$7,400 a year are exempted from paying individual income tax, and at the same time can enjoy a fair amount of welfare. Big capitalists, on the other hand, can be exempted from paying taxes or evade taxes by various extra-legal or illegal means. The middle class which is caught in the middle cannot enjoy tax exemptions and welfare benefits like the low income group nor do they have the necessary means of the big capitalists to evade taxes. They become that stratum in American society which contributes a lot but receives very little benefit. They are dissatisfied with the unfair treatment they receive from the government at different levels. The year before last, the state of California passed Proposition 13 reducing property tax. This action later had a widespread impact in many states all over the country and caused a "tax resistance" movement which demanded tax reductions and reductions in government spending. It was not accidental that the middle class constituted the main force in this movement.

There are about 13.9 million small enterprises (including small farms) in the United States, constituting 98 percent of total number of enterprises in the United States. Small enterprise owners and small farmers usually have to rely on loans for their operations due to a lack of capital. Apart from suffering the adverse effects of high tax rates and high prices, they are also exploited by high interest rates. This, along with the oppression and exclusion by big capitalists and big farmers, puts them heavily in debt and in a difficult situation. In the 1970's, more than 300,000 small farms went bankrupt. In last year alone, more than 200,000 small enterprises closed shop. Small enterprise owners, small farmers and small businessmen want the government to eliminate the many complicated rules and regulations governing them, relax the terms of loans and stop the staggering inflation.

In December 1977, 800,000 small farmers from 41 states staged a strike to protest agricultural monopoly capital's absorbing their land and income. In January 1978, February 1979 and February this year, a big group of small farmers drove their tractors to Washington for demonstrations. They were protesting the devaluation of the dollar and the increase in production costs and were demanding an increase in agricultural prices. This showed their anger and discontent.

The middle class has a fairly high cultural level. So they have sufficient ability to involve themselves in various activities in society. They are concerned about domestic and international affairs and have a sense of national pride and a vague sense of patriotism. They are not only dissatisfied with some internal policies, but are also worried by the deteriorating situation of the United States internationally and its weakened military capability. They felt a particular sense of hurt pride after the American Embassy personnel were seized as hostages in Iran and the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. They are pressing the government to take strong and effective measures in the diplomatic field. At present, conservative thinking is on the rise again in America. A great portion of the middle class supports policy proposals brought forth by the conservatives in both the Democratic and Republican parties. These include a balanced budget to stop inflation, eliminating cumbersome federal rules and regulations, overall reduction of taxes, increasing military expenditures, beefing up national defense and countering Soviet expansion in the Persian Gulf. In these aspects, conservatives in both parties have the support of many middle class people and have thereby gained in strength. There are also many middle class people who are not satisfied with either party. They think that "the Democratic Party speaks for the poor" (referring to Democratic proposals for more social welfare) while "the Republican Party speaks for the rich" (referring to the proposal of conservative Republicans to reduce restrictions on big enterprises). They are looking for a new spokesman who will represent the interests of their class. This weakens the foundation of both major parties. In short, the middle class is "the important foundation of American society." They constitute around 70 percent of the voters. Changes in their political leaning and economic status will have an impact on American society that cannot be overlooked.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RADIO BEIJING' ON CURRENT EUROPEAN ECONOMIC SITUATION

OW042022 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Jun 80

["Forum on International Affairs" talk: "The Current Economic Situation of the West European Countries"]

[Summary] This year economic and press circles in West European countries have expressed common concern over West Europe's economic situation in the 1980's. They unanimously hold that the economic situation in the 1980's will be even grimmer than in the 1970's. Roy Jenkins, chairman of the European Economic Community [EEC], stated that the economic prospect in 1980 is gloomy, and economic growth will not exceed 1.2 percent, compared to 3.3 percent last year. He said that both inflation and unemployment will rise and the international payments situation will continue to worsen. Recently, a UN annual report predicted that the economic sluggishness of the West European countries may be worse than expected, may last longer and that production in some countries may even drop.

"Today, the economies of various Western European countries still show a certain degree of prosperity. But, disturbing shadows underneath this superficial prosperity are gradually looming large. Inflation in the West European countries is getting more and more serious and commodity prices continue to surge." Although the EEC alleviated its inflation problem somewhat in 1978 because of its relatively great economic success, the good times did not last long. The inflation rate of the nine EEC member states began to rise again in 1979 and it has become more serious this year. Inflation in Britain, for instance, has gone as high as 21.8 percent. Although the governments of other EEC countries have also gone all out to combat inflation, the results are insignificant. Commodity prices continue to soar as a result of unchecked inflation. According to figures released by the EEC Statistical Bureau, the EEC's consumer prices went up by an average of 2 percent in January. This was the highest monthly rise since the founding of the EEC in 1958. In Italy, commodity prices increased 3 percent, the highest among the nine EEC member states.

Since 1979, the EEC members' international balance of payments has generally worsened. France registered a trade deficit of 8.6 billion francs in the first 2 months. "One of the reasons for the huge trade deficits in these countries is the tremendous price increase of energy resources and industrial raw materials. This year the price of oil bought by the Western European countries has kept on increasing. At present the price for each barrel of oil has reached \$30, or more than double that of early 1979 and over 20 percent more than early this year. According to a British estimate, every 10 percent rise in oil prices will cause a drop of 0.35 percent in the West European countries' GNP and an increase of 0.5 percent in inflation.

"During the 1980's the greatest problem facing the West European countries will be unemployment. Unemployment in the nine EEC member states was maintained at the high level of 5.5 percent in 1979. Broken families, spiritual degeneration and immorality caused by unemployment have become important factors of social instability. Amid this economic instability and these serious difficulties, the governments of all EEC countries are heavy-hearted and feel helpless in viewing their economy in the 1980's."

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET DEVELOPMENT OF BIOLOGICAL, CHEMICAL WEAPONS NOTED

OW090030 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1245 GMT 5 Jun 80

[Text] Beijing, 5 Jun--A summing up by XINHUA correspondents: Recently Western news agencies, papers and magazines have one after another reported that the Soviet Union is vigorously developing chemical weapons and, in open violation of the pact prohibiting the development of bacteriological and toxic weapons, intensifying research, production and stockpiling of bacteriological weapons for large-scale killing.

According to a REUTER 1 June report, the West long ago discovered that the Soviet Union secretly built a factory for the development of bacteriological weapons in Sverdlovsk City, 1,600 km east of Moscow. In March 1979 a disastrous accident occurred in this factory: a large quantity of anthrax bacteria leaked out and caused the death of nearly 1,000 people. Shortly after the accident, the commanding officer of this military factory committed suicide. The news agency cites a U.S. official as saying that 2 weeks after the accident, Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov secretly went to Sverdlovsk for an inspection. The report says that the United States regards Soviet development of bacteriological weapons as a violation of the 1975 pact prohibiting research, production and stockpiling of bacteriological weapons.

The ASSOCIATED PRESS reported on 29 May: (Bo-bo-fu-si-ji), an exile "Soviet writer" in the United States, testified at the U.S. Congress on 29 May that he had learned about the circumstances of the accident in Sverdlovsk in 1979 in a letter from Moscow. The letter mentioned that an epidemic broke out in the city after an explosion at a bacterial testing site. As a result, no fewer than 1,000 people died in the city and its suburbs. (Bo-bo-fu-si-ji) said that he learned from a number of scientists that the Soviet Union had formulated a bacteriological weapons development program.

An article entitled "From Germ Warfare to Total Poisonous Gas Warfare" in the 18 May issue of the Italian weekly (l'ESPRESSO) says: In addition to the accident in the Sverdlovsk bacteriological weapons factory, a similar accident of bacterial leakage occurred in a laboratory in the

Soviet Union's new Siberia. The weekly discloses that in chemical weapons, the Soviet Union is much stronger than the West. There are 70,000 to 100,000 chemical weapons technical personnel in the Soviet Union, as compared to 2,000 in the United States. Besides, of the 2,000 tactical guided missiles possessed by the Soviet Union, possibly a third are equipped with chemical warheads.

A British publication pointed out a month ago: Through aerial reconnaissance, the West has gathered a large quantity of materials proving that the Soviet Union is stockpiling chemical and biological weapons and equipment. The magazine quoted some Soviet immigrants as saying that Russia was also developing a so-called "genetic bomb"--a virus communicable only to a specific race. At present the Soviet Union at least has eight important scientific research organizations--three in the Moscow area--secretly engaged in research work of a military character in molecular biology.

A 3 April report in the West German paper DIE WELT said: According to rough estimates, at present the Soviet Union is 8 to 16 times as strong as the United States in its ability to wage chemical warfare. The Soviet Union has great potential to step up its production of chemical weapons. It can produce 30,000 tons of chemical ammunition each year. The Soviet Union now possesses 200,000 to 700,000 tons of chemical ammunition that can be used on battlefields, enough for use in a conflict in Central Europe--including mustard gas, hydrogen cyanide and other nerve gases. In another article, the newspaper said emphatically: The incident of the "explosion of a germ war agent factory" in Sverdlovsk shows that the Soviet Union has not fulfilled the stipulation of the "pact prohibiting bacteriological weapons" that "all signatories of the pact (including the United States and the Soviet Union) have the obligation not to develop, produce, stockpile or purchase bacteriological weapons."

Moreover, reports have repeatedly revealed that the Soviet Union is using biological and chemical weapons in actual combat. It is unscrupulously and directly using gas bombs to slaughter the Afghan people. It is supplying chemical weapons to Vietnam for the Hanoi authorities to carry on its war of genocide against the Kampuchean people. The ASSOCIATED PRESS reported on 24 April: "The Soviet Union has used nerve gas in at least five areas in Afghanistan." "When the bombs explode in midair, they give out a foglike poisonous gas, causing nausea, difficulty in breathing, paralysis and death."

In the face of exposure and condemnation by international public opinion, PRAVDA recently published an article flatly denying that the Soviet Union is developing biological and chemical weapons and talking glibly about "strict observance of the 1975 pact on prohibiting research, production and stockpiling and on destroying bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons" and so on and so forth, attempting to use these hypocritical words to cover up the Soviet Union's dirty behavior.

CSO: 4003

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' HITS PRC COOPERATION WITH U.S., JAPAN, WEST EUROPE

OWO31449 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 2 Jun 80

[Text] There should always be a clear-cut demarcation line between long-term strategy and immediate tactics in both military and political affairs. Some leaders of the central authorities now regard it as an expedient measure to develop and strengthen political and economic cooperation with the United States, Japan and West Europe. Chairman Hua's visit to Japan and Vice Premier Geng's visit to the United States are aimed at achieving this goal. Recently, some individuals of the central authorities are bent on saying that to cooperate with capitalist countries politically, economically and militarily is China's long-term strategic policy, and that this strategic policy is the only reliable way to realize the four modernizations. On the surface, this policy seems plausible. However, we must clarify one question: Can we rely on the capitalists in realizing socialist modernization? For a short period, this policy may be of temporary interest. From a strategic point of view, however, the policy of cooperating with capitalists will never be in our long-term interest.

Some time ago, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "This policy may help us develop even faster, but it also has its drawbacks. It may tie us to their chariots."

In formulating our long-term strategic tasks, we must not base ourselves on the present situation. We must look forward and take into consideration future developments and changes as well as the balance of forces in the international arena. Not long ago, some leaders put forward slogans such as "take concerted action with the United States, Japan and West Europe"; "Japan's efforts to strengthen armament conforms with China's interests"; "the Japanese-U.S. security treaty is a favorable factor"; and "U.S. armed forces stationed in Asia benefit the people in various Asian countries." These slogans are incorrect. Most of these slogans are based on temporary and immediate interests. Any strategic line that is formed on the basis of these slogans will definitely run counter to our country's long-term interests. Do you think that China--not to mention others--would benefit strategically when Japan strengthens its

armed forces and becomes a military power? First of all, we must realize that Japan has limited territory and natural resources, but a large population. In the past the Japanese authorities always used this as an excuse to carry out aggression and expansion, claiming that they "needed more living space and must insure Japan's base areas for raw materials." Today the Japanese authorities are making the same excuse to occupy our Diaoyu Tai Island, while ignoring the principles laid down by international law, and colluding with South Korea to explore the oil resources on China's continental shelf. When Japan once again becomes a gigantic military power in 20 years, how will China, as a neighboring nation, benefit strategically? Then, if the new authorities in Japan, backed by military power, seek to expand their living space and insure the raw material base areas, what shall we do?

The saying that the U.S. forces stationed in Asia benefit the Asian people is also doubtful. Our experience tells us that the armed forces of U.S. imperialism stationed in other countries pose a great threat to the host countries as well as to the neighboring countries. U.S. military bases are nothing but base camps to carry out spy activities, infiltration and sabotage against neighboring countries.

CSO: 4003

PARTY AND STATE

XI ZHONGXUN'S VISIT TO MACAO REPORTED

Officials' Comments

HK060756 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 6 Jun 80 p 2

[Special report: "Liang Weilin Talks About the Spirit of the Macao Visit: He Hopes No Problems Impairing Chinese-Portuguese Relations Will Occur in Macao"]

[Text] Sources from Macao reported that the meeting of the Constitutional Convention of Macao's Legislative Assembly had been aborted five times. The sixth session will be held today to discuss resolutions to amend the constitution allowing Macao to develop toward self-government.

Liang Weilin, Guangdong provincial deputy governor, who accompanied Governor Xi Zhongxun on his Macao visit, yesterday clearly conveyed the spirit of this visit. He said Xi Zhongxun hoped that no event impairing Chinese-Portuguese relations and the economic and political stability of Macao would occur in Macao.

Xi Zhongxun held a forum with representatives of different trades and occupations yesterday afternoon. Before the close of the forum, Deputy Governor Liang Weilin said: Some people think that Governor Xi Zhongxun's Macao visit came suddenly. Actually, it did not. When Xi Zhongxun visited Australia via Hong Kong, he also wished to visit Macao. However, since he had to attend the Guangdong Provincial People's Congress at that time, he was unable to visit Macao.

Later, Governor Xi Zhongxun accepted the invitation of the Macao governor and formally visited Macao. This shows that we treat Hong Kong and Macao equally.

He said both Hong Kong and Macao are special districts. This is a historical problem and the Central Committee has a principle to follow in solving it. Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping once told people to freely make investments and money.

We are achieving the four modernizations and working hard to strengthen our country through self-reliance. One of our purposes in visiting Macao and Hong Kong is to use the favorable conditions of these two districts, which are near Guangdong, to accelerate construction in Guangdong.

We hope Chinese-Portuguese relations will be further improved and Macao will be further developed. Under these circumstances, we hope nothing will happen to impair bilateral relations. We particularly hope that nothing will happen in Macao to impair Chinese-Portuguese relations and the economic prosperity and political stability of Macao. This is the spirit of our Macao visit.

Many friends have raised questions. I think this speech can be an answer. "It is not necessary to be overly explicit."

Ho Yin, a Legislative Assembly member, who did not turn up for the first five meetings of the Constitutional Convention, also spoke at the forum. He said that the clauses governing Chinese-Portuguese diplomatic relations clearly stated China's principle: Macao is part of China's territory and the present situation should not be changed.

Mr Ho said that Macao's future economic development will surely be helped by China. It is estimated that the electricity supply from Zhuhai and Xiangzhou will meet the needs of Macao by 1982.

Visit Ends

HK060241 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 7 Jun 80 p 1

[Excerpts] After completing their 3-day visit to Macao, Guangdong Governor Xi Zhongxun and his party will leave at noon on 7 June.

On the morning of 6 June Xi Zhongxun and his party visited the power station, where they were welcomed by chief engineer Silva and others. Before that, they made a special car trip to view the site of the deep-water port and airport the Macao Government plans to build. Governor Xi expressed concern over the electricity supply situation in Macao. He said: "In future we can supply you with oil when our South China Sea oil is exploited." Chief engineer Silva joked, "So long as it's cheap." "Of course it will be," said Governor Xi.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' EDITORIAL WELCOMES BARBADIAN PRIME MINISTER

OW111439 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1702 GMT 10 Jun 80

["Text" of RENMIN RIBAO 11 June editorial: "Warmly Welcome the Distinguished Guest From Barbados"]

[Text] Beijing, 10 Jun--At the invitation of the government of our country, His Excellency Barbados Prime Minister John Adams is scheduled to arrive in Beijing today with the Barbadian Government delegation led by him to make a formal visit to our country. The Chinese people have just given a warm sendoff to His Excellency Argentine President Videla who visited China. Now they are jubilantly welcoming the government head of Barbados. This shows the continuing growth of friendly exchanges between China and Latin American countries.

Barbados is a beautiful island country on the Caribbean Sea. The industrious and brave people of Barbados have suffered colonial enslavement and oppression. Owing to their unremitting efforts to struggle, Barbados finally won its independence in 1966. Since its independence, the Barbadian Government has made great efforts to develop its economy and has achieved some results. Its foreign policy is to maintain its independence and keep the initiative in its own hands; uphold nonalignment; oppose imperialism, colonialism and racialism and support the Third World countries' struggle in building a new international economic order and safeguarding maritime rights. Barbados attaches great importance to developing relations with other Latin American countries. It has made a considerable effort to promote the integration of the Caribbean region. Prime Minister Adams has repeatedly declared that Barbados' foreign policy is to maintain friendly relations with various countries and not to act as a "satellite" to any country. This stand of Barbados has won praise at home and abroad.

The national democratic movement in the Caribbean region is continuously rising. Many island countries have won their independence. In the remaining colonies the voice demanding independence is becoming louder and louder. In a number of Caribbean countries there is an upsurge to safeguard national independence; oppose intervention, subversion, oppression

and exploitation from without; strive for democracy and freedom and fight against autocracy. Meanwhile, superpower contention in this area is growing in intensity. Under these circumstances Barbados has strengthened unity and solidarity with its neighbors. It maintains that joint efforts should be made to protect the security of the area and has called on the Caribbean nations to "heighten their vigilance and to avoid being made a pawn of foreign powers or a venue of their contention." Though a small country, Barbados is worthy of praise for daring to defy brute force and never stooping to flattery while upholding justice and peace in the Caribbean region and the rest of the world.

The Chinese Government and people have consistently shown concern for and extended support to the people of Barbados in striving for and safeguarding national independence and defending its national rights and interests. When Barbados declared its independence, Premier Zhou Enlai sent a congratulatory message and recognized its independence. Since the establishment of formal ties between the two countries, there have been more and more exchanges of visitors and economic and trade relations. The understanding and friendship between the two countries have increasingly deepened. This visit by Prime Minister Adams will surely advance the friendly relations already existing between the two countries.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

FIFTH PLENUM OF ELEVENTH CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE ADJOURNS

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Mar 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Conscientiously Study and Resolutely Carry Out the Guidelines of the Fifth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee"]

[Text] Just as the people of our nation were so highly motivated for a good fight in the first spring of the 1980's, there came the joyful news of the triumphant ending of the 5th Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Our working class, together with the people of the entire nation, danced with unsurpassable joy and warmly cheered for the excellent performance and complete success of this session. A series of resolutions and documents were discussed and adopted by it. They fully reflect the wishes of the people of the entire nation. Our working class has decided to firmly support them and thoroughly carry them out.

The 5th Plenum was another important session following the 3rd and 4th plenums of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Its major topic was to stand firmly for and seek improvement of the party's leadership and to elevate its fighting strength. The documents passed by the session are important guarantees for success in carrying out the party's political and ideological lines. They also set forth authoritative strategic decisions that will enable our party and state to keep their colors forever unchanged. They bear important current significance as well as far-reaching historical significance.

At the present time, our broad masses of workers and employees should, first of all, conscientiously and intensely study the communique and other documents of the plenum. These documents are the best teaching materials for not only our party members and members of the Communist Youth League but also for other workers and employees, including each cadre and activist of the trade unions. The contents of the documents of the plenum are very rich and profound. It is necessary for us to fully understand their essence and real meaning, keep an open mind, discuss them enthusiastically, and grasp the important significance of the principles, policies and measures adopted at this session. In the course of study, we should increase our socialist consciousness and our ability to distinguish between right and

wrong, enhance our party sense, and increase our faith and confidence in the four modernizations. Our practice in the past has proved that only by deeply grasping the line, principle and policy of the party through study can one advance in a correct direction and firmly carry out the party line. The leaderships of the industrial and mining enterprises and their trade unions at all levels should conscientiously take the work of organizing the broad masses of workers and employees as a matter of great importance and urge them to study the documents of the plenum well. They should conduct an educational program among all the party members, workers and employees for upholding the political and ideological line of the party, consolidating party unity and unification, and strengthening the practice of democratic centralism and the discipline of the party to enable the broad masses of party members, workers and employees to raise their ideological standard to a higher level.

Our broad masses of workers and employees should, in coordination with their study of the documents of the plenum, carry out its guidelines resolutely. For more than a decade, quite a few party members and masses have become utterly confused about our party because it failed to carry out democratic centralism well, it made mistakes and had shortcomings in directing the inner-party struggle and, particularly, because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wantonly trampled on the party's rules and regulations and distorted and adulterated the Marxists party-building theory. This severely undermined our party's outstanding traditions and styles. After the "gang of four" had been smashed, order was restored from a state of chaos and, in terms of theory, ideology, and party line, the issue of right and wrong was clarified, thereby restoring our party's excellent traditions and styles to a large degree.

Nevertheless, among some of our party members and cadres, there still exist the bad tendencies toward carrying out prerogatives, factionalism, anarchism, and ultra-individualism. Some are even ignorant of the most fundamental knowledge about the party. For this reason, each and everyone of us members of the CCP, especially the leading cadres at the various levels, should conscientiously check our work, thoughts and behavioral styles in the study of the 5th Plenary Session documents, referring to the "Constitution of the CCP," (revised draft) and "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" where necessary in order to overcome our shortcomings and carry forward our achievements and to qualify ourselves as competent CCP members to serve as pioneers and models in realizing the four modernizations. The broad masses of workers and employees, in addition to encouraging and demanding themselves to uphold the guidelines of the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee, should also supervise the members and cadres of the CCP in carrying out the resolutions of the plenum and struggle persistently against all kinds of practices in violation of the resolutions of the Plenum.

The 5th Plenum of the CCP Central Committee further passed a resolution to redress the grievances of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. This has been a great event in the history of the Chinese workers movement as well as of the entire party.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi had, for a long time, led the workers movement and the activities of the trade unions of our country. From the outset, the broad masses of workers and employees had deep affection and high respect for him. As we mourn for Comrade Liu, we should conscientiously study his works and emulate his noble character and virtue of being so loyal to the cause of the proletarian revolution. It is particularly important for us to study his theory and practice in regard to party building in order to strengthen our cultivation of thought and elevate the moral standard of Communism for fulfilling the needs of the four modernizations. The cadres of the trade unions will also have to study his writings concerning the Chinese workers movement so as to further promote the functions of our trade unions.

To uphold party leadership, seek its improvement and boost its combat strength is an important guarantee for the realization of the four modernizations. The broad masses of workers and employees must take the study of the documents of the Plenum and a thorough implementation of its guidelines as the motive force for accomplishing the four modernizations. The four modernizations are matters of prime importance that will determine the future and destiny of our country. Only after the four modernizations have been accomplished can we then say that the guidelines of the 5th Plenum have truly and fully been carried out.

The 5th Plenum of the CCP Central Committee passed a series of resolutions that have once again eloquently proved that our party is worthy to be called a great, glorious and correct party, a true Marxist party, and the leading core of the people of China. Our party has not only been capable of eliminating all the sorrows and disasters brought to the Chinese people by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" but also capable of rebuilding itself to become more firm, strong, mature and vigorous. In particular, at this plenum more members were elected to the Standing Committee of the CCP Central Committee and a Central Secretariat was established to absorb into the central party leadership those comrades who have steeled themselves through prolonged trials, who are young, robust, capable of firmly carrying out the party line, and who are in possession of superior working capacity. This is not only for the purpose of suiting the needs of the burdensome work of modern enterprises but is also a matter of great significance in insuring the everlasting continuity of the line, principles, and policy of the party as well as the constant stability of its collective leadership. Our party is fully capable of leading all its members and the people of the entire nation to achieve the great socialist modernization by the end of this century. The broad workers and employees of the entire nation must be closely united around the party central committee. Our millions of people must make intensive efforts with one heart and one mind to create outstanding results on all fronts in order to greet the forthcoming 12th CCP National Congress.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

POLITICAL ROLE OF PARTY LEADERSHIP DISCUSSED

Nanning SIXIANG JIEFANG (IDEOLOGICAL LIBERATION) No 1 in Chinese published under the auspices of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Party Committee 5 Jan 80 pp 13-15, 37

[Article by Ai Han [5337 1383]: "Our Party Has Become More Mature Politically"]

[Text] In his "Speech at the Meeting to Celebrate the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the PRC," Comrade Ye Jianying expounded the great achievements in different areas gained by the people of our country's nationalities under the leadership of the CCP since the founding of new China, and he pointed out that the party line was correct during most of the past 30 years. At the same time, he took a thoroughly materialistic approach to bring to light the mistakes resulting from a lack of caution in our Party's guidance during certain periods, particularly those made during the launching and the leading of the Great Cultural Revolution. He also used the scientific approach to prevasively sum up the experience and lessons that should be assimilated. In optimistic, firm and highly confident language, the "Speech" points out that: "As in the period of the democratic revolution, our Party and the revolutionary people were not disheartened by difficulties and obstacles. We have summed up the experience and have drawn from the lessons. We are more mature politically and the development of our revolutionary cause is more rapid."

The smashing of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is a great victory for our party and is also a significant manifestation of its greater political maturity. Everyone knows that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are historically the two most sinister and cunning counterrevolutionary conspiratorial cliques that had infiltrated our party. To usurp in the party, these capitalist careerists and conspirators transformed proletarian dictatorship into feudal-fascist dictatorship. Taking advantage of their special position usurped inside and outside the party and using every counterrevolutionary double-dealing trick, they made good use of the pen to whip up counter-revolutionary opinion, while they engaged in counterrevolutionary usurpation of power with the gun. Covertly they persecuted, framed and even massacred veteran proletarian revolutionaries; overtly they instigated "kicking out

the party committee and fomenting revolution." Their organization was based on drawing in and forging factions; their ideological style was poisonous and corrosive. However, their counterrevolutionary and criminal activities did not topple our party. In this great struggle that had to do with the destiny of Party and nation, our party thoroughly defeated Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This matter itself sufficiently shows that our party is truly time-tested, politically mature and consolidated in organization. It shows that our party can represent the interests of the entire nation and that party and people maintain a profound flesh and blood relationship. At the same time, having gone through this great struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, our party has been tempered and strengthened. Hereafter it fully possesses the power and means to prevent repetition of such serious counterrevolutionary incident as Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

The Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng came about through the struggle to smash Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Under its strong leadership, the whole party summed up both positive and negative experiences of the past 30 years, in particular, the bitter experience of the way Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the "leftist" mistakes made by our party. It adopted a series of significant measures in theory, line, policy and organization, which brought order out of chaos and enabled our cause to march forward along Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These are the important indications and outstanding characteristics of our Party in becoming more politically mature.

The history of human society advances in its own contradictions. It is therefore impossible for the proletarian revolutionary party to sail smoothly through the course of its leadership in the revolutionary undertaking. Instead, it is full of varying degrees of complications. Experience thus gained from victory and success is valuable. However, lessons from failures and setbacks caused by mistakes are also valuable and in a certain sense, even more beneficial and makes it possible for the revolutionary party to mature politically. As Engels said: "The best way to understand theory is to learn from one's own mistakes and painful experience." (Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 36, p 575) Our Party's history has shown that it moves toward maturity and victory through constant summation and assimilation of its own experience and lessons. For example, twice it suffered setbacks during the period of the democratic revolution. The first time was when the party was in its infancy and extremely immature politically. Later, Chen Duxiu [7115 3747 4423] pursued the "right" opportunist line, causing the gains of the great revolution thus far obtained and the lives of numerous fine Communist Party members to be lost. It was out of the bitter lesson of this big setback that our party derived that great truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." It was also because of this that Comrade Mao Zedong formulated a set of strategic theories, such as having the countryside surround the cities, enabling our party to enter the period of land revolution to develop and prosper again. In the second instance, owing to the four long years of rule by Wang Ming's

[3769 2494] "left" opportunist line, 100 percent of the work in the party's white areas suffered damage while 90 percent of the red revolutionary bases were forced to be abandoned. From the lesson of this serious setback, our party obtained greater pervasive benefits. At the historic Zunyi meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership of the entire party was established. Through the subsequent rectification at Yan'an, which thoroughly criticized the pernicious influence of Wang Ming's "leftist" dogmatism, the ideological line was corrected and the great unity of the whole Party was realized. Thereafter it was possible for the Party to advance toward healthy development, lead the entire nation to defeat Japanese imperialism and the Jiang Dynasty, and victoriously complete the task of the new democratic revolution. Since the founding of the state, our party has experienced success in its leadership of the socialist revolution and construction. But lack of caution also brought about mistakes of the "left" during the three consecutive years of 1957, 1958 and 1959. In particular, there was Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" exploitation of our party's mistakes in the launching and leading of the Great Cultural Revolution, which was carried to the extreme and resulted in a big setback--the creation and implementation of an ultraleftist line. This experience and lesson enabled our Party to make a notable gain in rational knowledge through summation, providing it with a concrete theoretical foundation to lead the socialist cause from victory to victory. The facts show that the political maturity of a revolutionary party depends on the maturity of its theory which in turn depends on adeptness in summing up one's experience and lessons using Marxism as a guide.

It is necessary that Party-organized leadership put mature revolutionary theory into practice in order to obtain remarkable results. Ever since the smashing of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" by the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, the summation of experience, the assimilation of lessons and the resolute implementation to restore order in every aspect have all been accomplished in time. Thus, in a short span of 3 years, the Party has been able to return to the correct course of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in terms of Party line, principles and policies. A nation which for many years had been in turmoil once again shows a stable and unified political situation. A national economy that faced imminent collapse rapidly recovers and develops, along with which the life of the masses gradually improves. All this not only explains fully why our Party can victoriously lead the entire nation forward along the political line of undertaking the four modernizations, it also amply shows that our party is impregnable and is deservedly great, glorious and correct, the leading nucleus of all the Chinese people.

Some comrades feel that the party should be like a piece of white jade, sparkling, crystal-clear and flawless. If it has spots, how could it be regarded as glorious, great and correct? It would be understandable if the motive of these comrades is a good one, out of care and setting strict demands for the party; it would be wrong to view that the party has lost its great brilliance for making this or that mistake. Our party is glorious, great and correct, for essentially it takes as its sole purpose to serve

the people. Not only has it integrated the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, formulating the line, principles and policies for burying the old world and building a new society, it has also mobilized and organized tens of millions of Communist Party members and noble-minded revolutionaries to realize the highest and the greatest ideals of mankind and to carry out the unyielding struggle. However, this is not to say that the Party cannot have shortcomings or make any mistakes in this long journey. Setting demands on the party from the standpoint that "gold must be pure and man must be perfect" is not only metaphysical but may slip from the realm of metaphysics to materialistic historical nihilism.

Upholding the party's leadership is one of the important parts of upholding the four basic principles. It is the basic guarantee in building a modern and strong socialist country. In the 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four" under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, order has been restored in every aspect with great success. The high prestige of our party among the people of the entire nation has been reestablished. Yet some people lack firm confidence in our Party in leading the socialist cause toward victory. One group among them are young people who have never experienced the suffering of the old semifeudal and semicolonial China that was trampled and racked with ills. They do not realize the enormous significance of the earth-shaking changes brought about by the founding of new China, the socialist revolution and construction. What they have experienced is the pseudosocialism practised by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the national upheaval, hideous corruption of party morals and the ruin of the party's prestige, all brought about by these evil creatures. It is, therefore, very necessary to educate these young people in modern Chinese history, party history, and the basics of scientific socialism so that they may increase their consciousness. Another type of people are some cadres, including certain veteran cadres, who had been assaulted or persecuted during the time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage. Their grievances have not disappeared since the smashing of the "gang of four," perhaps because they have not studied well or perhaps they are still dissatisfied with the policies implemented. Blinded by these grievances, they cannot recognize the great victory in various aspects during the last 3 years under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng. These comrades should study harder and concentrate their vengeance on Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They should broaden their revolutionary mind, look ahead to the future, bring out their death-defying spirit of the revolutionary war period, and be of one heart and mind with the party in shouldering the burden of leading the masses in the work of the four modernizations.

Of course, we should also realize that at present some party cadres have not been ideologically liberated from the spiritual yoke of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultraleftist line. They still suspect Party line, principles and policies determined by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Second Conference of the Fifth NPC and make no effort to implement them. In their positions as Party cadres with

administrative responsibility, such mental state and work attitude not only affect implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, but have an erosive effect on the party's prestige among the masses. Some people were deeply poisoned by ultraleftist trend of thought and anarchism during the time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage. They were the daring generals of "kick out the party committee and foment revolution." Today they still cling to the view that "mass movements are natural and rational." In the name of "democracy" and "human rights" they seek ties and support everywhere and even take out the so-called slogan "uncover the Party committee's class struggle," which had long been swept onto the rubbish heap of history, to swindle and bluff, confuse and poison people's mind. Some others proceed from extreme individualism. Under the banner of supporting the Party, they make exorbitant demands, create trouble wilfully or otherwise, interfere with the normal work of some local Party administrative organs, and disrupt production and social order. Whether the interference comes from the "left" or the right, they are all erroneous tendencies that shake, weaken and detach the Party's leadership. We must resolutely remove and resist them with a distinct attitude, justice and forcefulness. Every Communist Party member must enhance the party spirit and every revolutionary must strengthen the party's point of view. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, we must make joint efforts and muster our strength to single-mindedly undertake the Four Modernizations.

9586

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY COMMITTEE MEMBERS' ACTION MUST BE EXEMPLARY

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Feb 80 p 1

[Article by Chou Wu [0719 2976]: "Keep Things in Proper Order"]

[Text] Today our paper carries a report: "We Need Such a Leading Person." It tells us with facts that when factories, mines and other enterprises try to strengthen the party's leadership and enhance the fighting power of the party organization, the leading role of party committee secretaries is of very great importance.

One of the important reasons why party committee secretary Liu Shizhen [0491 0013 3791] of the electric cable factory could promote production by working together with the committee members and relying on all the staffs and workers was that he gave play to the exemplary role of a communist, always set himself as an example, made high and strict demands on himself, and gave taciturn commands through his every word and every deed. To accept the assistance and supervision of the masses, on behalf of the party committee he made a few simple rules to be observed by all concerned: Whatever the low levels are asked to achieve the leadership must achieve first; and whatever the low levels are not permitted to do the leadership must observe first; and whatever the low levels are not permitted to do the leadership must first refuse to do. All decisions on important issues are to be made through general discussion, which all people must carry out with absolutely no exception. What is even more important is that he never forgets the party's fine tradition, always conducts criticism and self-criticism, humbly listens to suggestions from lower levels, continuously overcomes shortcomings and improves his style of work. For this very reason, he and the comrades of the party committee receive the trust of the masses. The fighting power of the party organization is strengthened and the prestige of the party heightened.

The experience of this factory's comrades is well worth studying by the comrades of other factories, mines and enterprises. At present, many of their party organizations are disintegrated, the party's prestige has declined, and the party's fighting power is weakened because when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, they were told to "kick out the party committee and rise in revolution." At this moment, the urgent issue facing

us is to restore the party's fighting power. Our party should be a fighting force and the vanguard of the proletariat. It should be a force of unity, high consciousness and discipline. Only by putting itself back to this state, can the party have fighting strength. To achieve this, the exemplary role of the party members, especially party affiliated cadres, is of very great importance.

In the past, how could our party's power be so great? At the time of war, we always said that when party members constituted 30 percent of a company, this company must be good, its fighting power strong. Why? Because in battle our party members were always in the vanguard of the charge and retreated after all the others, and in living they always were the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. By doing this, they became exemplary persons and the hardcore of the masses. This was the simple truth. At that time, it was not easy to be a communist, even less to be a cadre of the communist party. As a company commander or a platoon leader, one must carry two or three rifles on one's back in march. At present, some party members reverse the order of things. In work, they retreat first and charge behind others; and in living they enjoy comforts first and bear hardships after others. These comrades have unusually long arms: "What's yours is none, what's mine is still mine." They fish for benefits everywhere. For example, in some factories and enterprises the leading comrades called upon staff members and workers to make great efforts for the Four Modernizations while they themselves were afraid of hardships, pursued an easy life, hankered after comforts, picked easy jobs and shirked hard ones, and were reluctant to carry heavy burdens. In some factories, new dormitories were completed but not to be occupied first by workers who were living in improvised shelters, keeping a family of three generations and having other housing difficulties; on the contrary, they were seized first by the leading comrades who wanted to have more and better accommodations. The leading comrades of some factories showed no concern about the lack of means of transportation between their factory and workers' homes but tried by every means to get a private car for their own use. Others were not interested in the well-being of the workers but took advantage of their official position to promote unhealthy tendencies, such as "entering by the back door" to secure personal benefits, etc. In this way, they damaged the relations between the party and the masses, demoralized the workers and never could promote production.

We hope that all leading comrades of factories and enterprises should take the advanced deeds of Comrade Liu Shizhen as an image and seriously ask themselves: "Are you keeping things in proper order?" This certainly does not mean the technical order of such matters as standing in a line, making speeches, arranging work and calling a meeting to order; but, it is a major issue of world outlook related to each and every communist. Do you put public interests ahead of your private interests, or the other way around? Do you put others before yourself, or conversely? In work, do you charge ahead of others, or retreat before the others? In living,

are you the first to bear hardships or the first to enjoy comforts? For communists who regard the liberation of mankind as their personal duty, it goes without saying that this question should have been solved since the day when they joined the party. Particularly, as far as the cadres are concerned, they furthermore should never forget the golden saying about being the servant of the people. What is a servant? What is his status? It was recorded in our ancient books: "People are classified into 10 grades, servants belong to the ninth." If we eliminate the class status of the old society about the unequal relationship between the master and his servant, give it a new meaning and use it as an analogy to the relationship of cadres serving the people heart and soul, is this not all the more worth our pondering? As we belong to the ninth grade, how can we set ourselves above the masses, be the first to enjoy comforts and the last to bear hardships? If we cannot keep such things in proper order, and even always reverse the order of things then, not just talking about assuming leadership, it is even questionable whether or not we are qualified to be communists.

9039

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CONFERENCE HELD TO DISCUSS PARTY DISCIPLINE IN BEIJING

Work Reviewed; Tasks Set

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "Beijing Discipline Inspection Commission Shifts Focus of Work To Safeguarding Implementation of Party Line and Four Modernizations?"]

[Text] The discipline inspection work conference of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee was held recently and concluded with the adoption of a central task to be carried out by the Beijing municipal discipline inspection workers in 1980. The central task is to implement comprehensively and conscientiously the policies and tasks set forth by the Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, and to further shift the emphasis of the party's discipline inspection work to insuring the thorough implementation of the line, principles, and policies laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and to guaranteeing success in the four modernizations.

The discipline inspection work conference of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, held from 22 to 29 February, was the first of its kind to take place since the establishment of the preparatory group for the formation of the Beijing Municipal Discipline Inspection Commission in April 1979, and since the conclusion of the previous Beijing municipal discipline inspection work conference in 1963. This [year's] conference marked the return to normal of discipline inspection work by the party, following over 10 years' suspension caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This discipline inspection work is expected to play a positive role in the new situation. The primary task of the conference was to conscientiously study Comrade's Deng Xiaoping's important report of "The Current Situation and Our Tasks," to convey to its participants the guidelines of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, and to discuss and plan tasks for 1980. Guo Shushen [6753 6615 3947], deputy secretary of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, and Jia Tingsan [6328 1656 0005], third secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, addressed the conference. Chen Peng [7115 7720], secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and leader of the preparatory group for the formation of the

Beijing Municipal Discipline Inspection Commission; Mao Lianjue [3029 5114 3778], secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee; and She Diqing [0151 3321 3237], standing committee member of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and director of its organization department, attended the conference. Li Zhenhai [2621 2182 3189], deputy leader of the preparatory group for the formation of the Beijing Municipal Discipline Inspection Commission, delivered a report entitled "A review of major tasks performed by the preparatory group for the formation of the Beijing Municipal Discipline Inspection Commission since its establishment, and opinions on the work for 1980."

In addition to stressing the significance of party discipline inspection work for the struggle for realization of the four modernizations under the new historical conditions, the conference urged the entire party to strengthen the sense of discipline as a guarantee for the implementation of the political line, and to resolutely struggle against all forms of erroneous ideas and unlawful acts which reject the four basic principles and which hamper, boycott, and undermine the four modernizations.

Following thorough discussions of the central task of the party's discipline inspection work for 1980, the conference concluded that only by rectifying the party's workstyle and strengthening party discipline and the party's fighting power can we insure success in thoroughly implementing the party's ideological, political, and organizational line, in developing a political situation characterized by stability and unity, in achieving unity of action on the ideological, political, and organizational front, and in smoothly accelerating the tempo of the four modernizations. In order to fulfill the central task, we must concentrate our efforts on doing the following jobs well:

1. Strengthen education in our party's workstyle and discipline. Discipline inspection work should be based on a principle that regards preventive measures, education, and legislation as matters of prime importance--a principle that calls for strict observation and resolute enforcement of laws and severe punishment of law offenders. In coordination with the organization and propaganda departments, discipline inspection commissions at all levels must widely and extensively educate party members in the provisions of the "Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party" (Revised Draft) and the "Regulations Governing Inner Party Political Life." Under the leadership of the party committees they must, as overseers of the law enforcement agencies, constantly guarantee that the aforementioned "regulations," other regulations, laws, circulars, and statutes issued by the Party Central Committee and the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline will be thoroughly implemented.

2. Strengthen the process of inspecting and handling cases of violation of discipline. Through the process of inspecting and handling the aforementioned cases, defending party regulations and laws, rectifying the party's workstyle, and strengthening party discipline, we will be able to guarantee the thorough implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies. Among the major cases under inspection will be those [in which persons are] suspected of

violating and boycotting the party's line, principles, and policies, guilty of publicly complying but privately opposing party discipline, being dishonest, and practicing factionalism, and guilty of determining the organization and discipline, pushing other people around and practicing anarchism. Furthermore, other cases such as the practice of bureaucratism, the undermining of financial and economic discipline, and the continuous abuse of special privileges should also be conscientiously inspected and seriously handled.

3. Continue to do a good job of handling letters from the masses and receiving visitors who have complaints to make. It is necessary to constantly analyze complaints or petitions from the masses, systematically sum them up, and take the initiative to handle them one by one.

4. Strengthen the building of the discipline inspection commissions at all levels. We must concentrate our efforts on establishing and improving discipline inspection organs and selecting enough cadres to fill all necessary discipline inspection positions.

Comrade Guo Shushen delivered a speech at the conference calling on party members to promote and carry forward the communist code of ethics and communist workstyle, and to strengthen party discipline and the building of the ranks of discipline inspectors.

In his speech, Comrade Jia Tingsan pointed out: The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has formulated and promulgated a correct political line. Now what we need is rigid party discipline to insure its thorough implementation. He pointed out: Practicing a bad workstyle and ignoring party discipline are tendencies that still exist in varying degrees in Beijing Municipality. Stressing that the top echelons should take the lead in rectifying the party's workstyle and strengthening party discipline, he said that leading cadres at all levels should play an exemplary role and act as models in implementing the "Regulations Governing the Inner Party Political Life" and other rules and regulations. They should take the lead in observing party discipline and in preserving and carrying forward the fine tradition of hard struggle. He urged party organizations at all levels in Beijing Municipality to attach importance to the work of inspecting party discipline, and to do everything possible to establish and improve discipline inspection organizations and staff them with cadres following the close of the conference. He suggested that a specific number of outstanding middle-age and young cadres be selected to take charge of the work of inspecting party discipline; cadres in charge of this work should be professionally competent and politically conscious and be able to adapt themselves to the needs of the new situation.

The conference reviewed and summed up the work performed by the preparatory group for the formation of the Beijing Municipal Discipline Inspection Commission since its establishment. During the past 10 months, under the leadership of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and the Central Commission

for Inspecting Discipline, the preparatory group for the formation of the Beijing Municipal Discipline Inspection Commission and discipline inspection organizations at all other levels have resolutely implemented the political line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and have scored some success in defending the party's regulations and laws, in rectifying the party's workstyles, and in organizing discipline inspection units and putting them in operation. The preparatory group for the formation of the Beijing Municipal Discipline Inspection Commission has begun to process a number of important cases at the request of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline. Some of these cases have been completed; others are still being processed.

The conference pointed out: During the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, under the leadership of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, the discipline inspection commissions at all levels in Beijing Municipality did a good job in implementing the party's correct line, principles, and policies and played a significant and positive role in preserving party discipline and carrying forward the party's fine tradition. All false charges leveled against them by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" should be overthrown.

Editorial Support

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Mar 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Improve Party Character, Strengthen Party Discipline, Ensure Four Modernizations"]

[Text] The Beijing Municipal CCP Committee has concluded its party discipline inspection work conference. In addition to conscientiously studying Comrade Deng Ziaoping's important speech on "The Current Situation and Our Tasks," and conveying and discussing the guidelines of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, the conference reviewed the work performed by the inspectors of party discipline in Beijing over the past year and set forth tasks for this year. Throughout the conference, the key topic of discussion centered on how to improve party character, strengthen party discipline, guarantee the successful implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, and achieve the four modernizations. We must successfully carry out the guidelines of this conference--guidelines which will have a positive role to play in further strengthening the party's discipline, in increasing the party's fighting power, and in insuring the smooth development of the four modernizations.

We must improve party character, strictly observe party discipline, and strengthen the ties between the party and masses and hence the party's fighting power. Doing so will constitute an important guarantee of success in implementing the party's line and in promoting the four modernizations. Without strict discipline, a proletarian political party will face the danger of disintegration and is bound to lose its fighting strength. Since its birth,

our party has been known for its rigid discipline. During the most unfavorable revolutionary wars, our party never buckled under the pressure of superior enemy forces; on the contrary, it used inferior weapons to defeat enemy forces armed with superior weapons, and subsequently led the democratic revolution to victory. An important factor that this victory heavily counted on was the combination of iron discipline and fine workstyle promoted by the party and consciously practiced by its members. We must take pains to note that this fine tradition and workstyle inherited by our party were once trampled underfoot by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In this connection, Beijing city bore the brunt of sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Consequently, the healthy organs of our party were gravely damaged, party character and party discipline were trampled underfoot, and the party's fighting power was greatly weakened. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, life within the ranks of the party in Beijing city, as in other parts of the country, has undergone radical changes. For example, our fine tradition and workstyle have been restored in varying degrees, and party discipline has been strengthened along with the party's fighting power. But we must understand that the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still exists on the ideological and organizational fronts, and efforts have yet to be made to overcome the undisciplined behavior and rectify the unhealthy workstyle prevailing within the ranks of the party. These malpractices are bound to hamper the implementation of tasks laid down by our party. The Party Central Committee has formulated and conveyed to the nation a clear-cut political line. Its aim is to unite the people of all nationalities throughout the country, to mobilize all positive factors to work together with one mind and one heart, and to go all out to aim high in their common endeavor to build China into a modern socialist country with greater, faster, better, and more economical results. In the 1980's, in the next 10 years, we must win this decisive battle for the four modernizations. In order to accomplish this task, it is essential to uphold and strengthen the leadership of the party. While upholding and strengthening the leadership of the party, we must educate people in strictly observing party discipline and strengthen the sense of discipline among them. Observation of party discipline means subordinating the individual to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level, and the entire membership to the Central Committee. At present, the principle of subordinating the entire membership to the Central Committee should particularly be reaffirmed. We must struggle against any acts bent on undermining the party's political and organizational discipline, and resolutely prohibit some individual party organizations and party members from acting in defiance of the organization and discipline, from continuously practicing factionalism, and from doing everything their own righteous way. We must struggle against all forms of erroneous ideas and tendencies and bad workstyles, and revive and carry forward the party's fine tradition and workstyle. Only in this way can we induce all party members to achieve unity in ideology and take concerted action to implement the party's line, principles, and policies.

The primary task in the process of improving party character and strengthening party discipline is to grasp the political line and problems on the political and ideological fronts. Among them are problems that result from acts of opposing the four basic principles, boycotting the party's line, principles, and policies, continuously practicing factionalism and anarchism, and endangering stability and undermining unity. We must concentrate our efforts on grasping these problems of vital interest to our party and state. At the same time, we must continue to firmly grapple with problems caused by those guilty of practicing bureaucratism to a serious degree, abusing special privileges, squandering public funds, and embezzling. These malpractices, which the masses despise, are bound to hamper progress in the four modernizations and undermine the party's fighting power, and therefore they should be resolutely dealt with.

Improving party character and strengthening party discipline also means thoroughly implementing the principle of taking preventive measures and education as matters of prime importance and regarding punishment as a latter resort. Discipline inspection organs at all levels must regard strengthening education in the party's tradition and discipline as being of prime importance. At present, under the leadership of the party committees and in coordination with the organization and propaganda departments, they must study well and strive to put into practice the documents adopted by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, including the "Regulations Governing Inner Party Political Life" and the "Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party" (Revised Draft). They must persist in educating party members in the party's political and ideological line, in the necessity of strengthening the party's solidarity and unity, the party's democratic centralism, and the sense of organization and discipline. They must assist the party committee in overseeing and insuring the thorough implementation of the "Regulations Governing Inner Party Political Life" and in making them known to every party member so that each will know how to be a qualified member of the Communist Party. At the same time, party discipline must be strictly observed. Everyone should be treated as equal before the discipline. Anyone who is guilty of violating the provisions of the party constitution, or the party regulations and laws proclaimed by the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, should be thoroughly investigated and brought to justice. "Severe punishment" must be meted out to those law offenders who are arrogant and intractable and refuse to mend themselves through education. Today, there are people who have deliberately acted against the principles, policies and decisions of the central authorities and have persistently obstructed their implementation; elements who have persisted in practicing factionalism and undermining unity; persons who have committed crimes and deliberately violated financial and economic discipline, thus causing damage to the four modernizations; and others who have knowingly violated laws, made serious mistakes, and refused to correct them through repeated education. In dealing with these people, we should show neither leniency nor mercy, nor should we be "kindhearted." They should be thoroughly investigated and dealt with severely, no matter how long their service and how high their position. In handling these cases, we must seize upon typical examples and make them known to all party members as a form of education.

Improving party character and strengthening party discipline are the concern of the entire party and not just the work of the discipline inspection commissions alone. In view of this, the party committees must attach importance to this work and strengthen their leadership over it. Following over 10 years of suspension, party discipline inspection work has eventually been restored. Thus far, the departments in charge of this work remain understaffed and face many difficulties. This is the reason why they need special leadership and support provided by the party committees at this time. Party committees at all levels must treat the departments in charge of inspecting discipline as an integral part of the party, and their work as an important item on their agenda, and must take timely actions to solve problems and overcome difficulties caused by the reinstatement of discipline inspection organs.

The Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has closed triumphantly. The resolutions it has adopted are of far-reaching significance for strengthening and improving the leadership of the party, for enhancing stability and unity, and for promoting the four modernizations. In response to the calls of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we must redouble our efforts in all fields of endeavor and do a good job of inspecting party discipline. Only in this way can we improve party character and strengthen the sense of party discipline and the party's fighting power, guarantee success in the four modernizations in the capital, and make a greater contribution in this field.

9574

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

QUOTING FROM ANCIENTS SAID TO BE ACCEPTABLE

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Mar 80 p 4

[Article by Zhang Heming [1728 7729 7686]: "Speaking of 'Everybody Can Become a Yao or Shun'"]

[Text] In "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members," Comrade Liu Shaoqi wrote: "There is a saying in 'Mencius': 'Everybody can become a Yao or Shun.' I think these words are quite well said. Every Communist Party member should work honestly with perseverance, seek truth from facts, diligently train himself, earnestly cultivate morality and knowledge and, as much as possible, gradually raise the level of his thinking and character. One should not, seeing the great revolutionary thoughts and character of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, and thinking these qualities are too high to reach, give up on oneself and feel too intimidated to move forward." That a leader of the party and country should make such strict demands and sincere expectations of ordinary party members is an extremely great encouragement and education for each party member; it fully embodies the profound proletarian feelings between the leaders and the masses.

Of course, while Comrade Shaoqi thought that these words of "Mencius" were good. When we assess the value of a book or a person, we do not base our decision on the correctness or incorrectness of a phrase or two. Because the ideological system of Mencius is idealistic does not mean that his every utterance is incorrect, just as while Hegel's ideological system is idealistic, his dialectics still contain an "inner core of rationality." What ought to be certain is that Mencius, while living in his era, could see the possibility for everyone to reach the ideal state of Yao or Shun as conceived at the time; such was not easy. Today we are much wiser than the ancients and should especially demand of ourselves that we reach the highest standard. To a Communist Party member, the qualities of the founders of Marxism-Leninism are naturally and rightly models for study; they not only need to be studied, they can be studied thoroughly because, be it Marx or Lenin, they were once living people of flesh and blood and not gods who had transcended reality. Only "political plebeians" would think that these noble qualities cannot be learned and are too high for our reach.

Yet it was precisely because of this idea of emulating the ancient sages that Comrade Shaoqi suffered the slander initiated by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that adviser, and the idea was vilified as the theoretical basis for "sealing up the black cultivation of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists." Whatever sayings of Confucius or Mencius Comrade Shaoqi drew upon in his works, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took them all as an intent to promote the ways of Confucius and Mencius, and condemned Comrade Shaoqi for being the current spokesman of Confucius and Mencius. After that, "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members" was condemned to hell, and even the idea of "cultivation" became taboo. The propaganda media controlled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" avoided "cultivation" the way Ah Q avoided "brightness."

Whoever has read the classic works of Marxism-Leninism will discover that from time to time these classics quote epigrams and mottoes of the ancients. For instance, in concluding his preface to "Criticism on Political Economy," Marx said: "To be at the gates of science is like being at the gates of hell. It is imperative to put forward the demand: 'Here, all hesitations must be rooted out here, any form of cowardice will not help matters.'" This is a phrase with which everyone is quite familiar. People often use it as a motto to motivate themselves to climb the high peaks of science in a determined manner. Yet the demand put forward here by Marx is an exact borrowing from the lines of Dante's "Divine Comedy." Take another example. In "The Book of Strategy," Lenin cited a line from Goethe's "Faust," "My friend, theories are gray, while the tree of life is evergreen." These words are commonly known among people who work with theories. Lenin borrowed them to elucidate a truth, which is that the viewpoint of the theory of perception. It is therefore clear that when Marx and Lenin sometimes drew from the sayings of the ancients, they not only generally approved of the sayings and utilized them to clarify common issues, but they also used them very positively to elucidate issues which involve principles. Yet, there has never been anyone, while holding fast to the truth, who thought that, because Marx and Lenin affirmed the sayings of the ancients, Marx was a spokesman for Dante and the ideologies of Lenin and Goethe were identical. Furthermore, in his reports, poems, essays and other works, Comrade Mao Zedong also cited Confucius many times, such as: "To learn tirelessly, to teach without weariness"; "Among the three of us walking along, one [of the other two] is good enough to be my teacher"; etc. Among those who have read these lines, there has never been anyone who said that Comrade Mao Zedong was propagating the ways of Confucius and Mencius. For the same reason, how can we say that Comrade Liu Shaoqi was promoting the ways of Confucius and Mencius when he quoted a line from "Mencius?" Any normal person will not consider it thus. Only those who had a high fever and had their heads and feet reversed like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" would utter such nonsense out of delirium from heat stroke.

The history of the Great Cultural Revolution instructs the people that Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Co. uttered such nonsense out of a desire to advocate the theory of the making of a genius; introducing modern superstition on a massive scale, they forcefully turned the leader into a god

transcending high above the masses. They drew an artificial boundary of nontransgression between the leader and the masses and thereby removed the leader from the midst of the masses. They made the people and the ordinary party members keep a respectable distance from the leader from the midst of the masses. They made the people and the ordinary party members keep a respectable distance from the leader and let them think that the people could only kowtow and worship since they were far behind the leader's accomplishments. Such methods of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were derived from the same vein as Mencius' "Without gentlemen, do not attempt to govern rustics. Without rustics, there is no need to cultivate gentlemen." Gentlemen rule over rustics; rustics provide for gentlemen in the same way as god rides high above man. Man can only kneel respectfully at the god's feet praying for protection, expressing gratitude for benevolence and do absolutely nothing to cause any offense! Yet, this company of god creators, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," are also god's agents. Lin Biao was then able to unabashedly install himself as the close comrade-in-arms of the leader, requiring the people to pray for his everlasting health. Jiang Qing was thus able to brazenly name herself as the student of the guiding teacher, the harbinger of revolutionary literature; she wanted to be an empress. While they were creating a god, they took tiger skins to make big banners, saying it was for the establishment of others, whereas in actuality it was for their own establishment; thus they engaged in frantic attempt to reinstate the feudal-imperialistic system in the socialist China of the 1970's. Having a guilty conscience, they turned around and incriminated Comrade Liu Shaoqi for restoring capitalism and propagating the ways of Confucius and Mencius. They even placed capitalism and the ways of Confucius and Mencius in the same historical category. This is really outrageous and unreasonable.

From this we can see that the reason Lin Biao and the "gang of four" willfully accused Comrade Liu Shaoqi for citing "Everybody can become a Yao or Shun" was because this saying was incompatible with the theory of genius and the historic concept of idealism which they promoted. In their eyes, history is created by individual heroes, and truth resides in the hands of a few geniuses such as themselves. And the masses are the populace--slaves whom they can arbitrarily control. However, the progress of history ran contrary to their expectations. The people are the masters of history, and truth resides in the hands of the people; the historic concept of heroes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went completely bankrupt. Historical facts have made the fairest judgment. Comrade Liu Shaoqi stood on the side of the people and the truth. His "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members" is rightfully a Marxist work which has stood well the test of time.

PROTECTION OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS URGED

Nanning SIXIANG JIEFANG [IDEOLOGICAL LIBERATION] No 1 in Chinese, published under the auspices of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Party Committee, 5 Jan 80 pp 16-19

[Article by Feng Shen [7458 3234]: "On Democratization"]

[Text] Realizing the socialist four modernizations is the central work of the entire people today. To safeguard the stable and united political situation, mobilize all positive factors and smoothly pursue the socialist modernization construction, we must conscientiously introduce democratic politics--democratization.

What is democratization? To put it simply, it is to legalize and regularize, according to definite systems, the democratic rights and demands of the people into a common norm of conduct, to serve as the yardstick of their political life. Concretely speaking, democratization is the legalization, discipline-ization and order-ization of democracy. Democratic legalization is to accurately stipulate, in accordance with the constitution and laws formulated by the state, the democratic rights of the people in form of law and guarantee the supreme power enjoyed by the people in managing the state. Democratic discipline-ization is to codify the democratic principles into definite organizational rules and regulations and ask the people to follow them as a sort of discipline. The principle of democratic centralism in the party constitution, for instance, is the principle of the party organization, with the minority obeying the majority, the lower level the higher level, and the entire party the Party Central Committee; it is a principle which must be followed by each and every party member and party organization. Violating democratic centralism is violating party discipline. Democratic order-ization is to make the democratic life into a normal socialist order in definite democratic forms and by democratic means, such as the scheduled people's congresses, party member delegates' meetings, staff and worker

delegates' meetings, etc., which enable the masses to participate in the management of the state and the enterprises via normal means. Meanwhile, they may make criticisms and suggestions on the various items of work and conscientiously report on and expose the undesirable individuals and incidents, so that the interests of the state and the people are protected from harm.

As explained by the meaning of democratization, democracy is not something intangible; it is the democratic rights of the people and the political system of our socialist state. Socialism is an organic integration of democracy and centralism; it is not capitalist liberalization or anarchism, nor chaos. Democratization is to build our social life on the foundation of the socialist democratic "order" and to legalize and regularize the people's democratic rights, in order to struggle against the enemies sabotaging the people's democratic system, prevent the minority of anarchists and bureaucrats from infringing on the rights of the majority and safeguard the stability of the social, production and work orders.

The goal of democratization is to consolidate the fruits of victory of the people's revolution and the socialist state system with the entire laboring people, led by the worker class, as the masters. As everyone knows, any revolutionary class, after seizing political power, must promulgate certain decrees in order to consolidate its victory. Lenin said: "Law is the manifestation of the will of the class which has gained victory and is in control of the political power of the state." In the struggle against feudalism, the bourgeoisie once proposed the democratic demands of "natural rights" and "the people's sovereignty." After gaining political power, it wrote such demands into its constitution, and created various democratic systems, such as the representative, general election, open trial and defense systems, to protect the rights gained by it in the struggle against feudalism. To be sure, the democratic systems of the bourgeoisie, to the proletariat, are incomplete and false. The proletarian revolution represents the interests of the great majority. After the victory of the socialist revolution, to consolidate the fruits of the revolution, the proletariat must create the fullest democratic systems for the overwhelming majority. "If the victorious socialism does not introduce full democracy, it will not be able to preserve its victory." After the victory of the democratic revolution, the people of China passed the "Common Program" which had the force of law. The first socialist constitution formulated in 1954 made the principles of the people's democracy and socialism into the fundamental law of the state. Subsequently, a series of laws was passed. According to incomplete statistics, from 1954 to 1963, China formulated and promulgated over 1,100 laws, decrees and regulations, producing an important impact on cracking down on the enemy's

sabotaging activities, defending the people's democratic rights and the socialist economic system, stabilizing the social order and promoting the development of the production force. Therefore, democratization is the fundamental measure of the victorious proletariat to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist economic system.

When the proletariat seized political power and won democracy, it was only the beginning of the socialist revolution. It must then utilize its own democratic political power to struggle against the reactionary remnants while vigorously developing the social production force and pursuing a long-term socialist construction, in order to reach its final goal of eliminating the classes and the class differences and realizing communism. Therefore, besides consolidating the fruits of revolution already won, democratization is for the purpose of fully activating the positivity and creativity of the entire people in building socialism. In terms of China today, it is for the purpose of realizing the four modernizations. Building socialism is the cause of millions; it is not something emerging from the minds of a few or a favor granted by any individuals. It can only be accomplished by relying on the wisdom and strength of millions and organizing a powerful army of socialist construction. When fully developed, the socialist democracy will arouse the sense of proprietary responsibility in the masses, and they will, with the attitude of masters, courageously dedicate themselves to the four modernizations.

Democratization is the political foundation of stability and unity. The socialist construction requires a lasting stable and united political situation and, without full socialist democracy, such a situation cannot be created. Since the founding of the nation, though China has established a government system of people's democracy, it is not yet perfect. Due to the mistakes in work, the magnified anti-rightist struggles in 1957 and the improper anti-rightist movement in 1959, the people's democracy and intra-party democracy were damaged. In promoting the ultraleftwing line, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" magnified the class struggle, insanely trampled the socialist democracy and legal system, disrupted the production, work and all normal socialist orders, and artificially created large numbers of unjust, false and wrong cases. As a result, the broad cadres and masses had no guarantee of their basic personal freedom and their rights contained in the constitution, and democracy became a mere empty term. Due to the destruction of the stable and united political foundation, the national economy was pushed to the brink of collapse. The 10 years of political unrest have taught us that democratization is the political foundation of social stability. Only democratization will guarantee the political rights and basic working conditions of the broad people and make it possible to pursue the socialist modernization construction smoothly.

As indicated by our experience in the long struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four," only democratization will forestall the possibility of counterrevolutionary restorations in the political system by such conspirators and careerists as Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In the past, ^{as} our democracy and legal system were imperfect, conspirators such as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the loopholes, usurped the important functions of the party and the state and brought chaos to the nation. When they were doing whatever they wished and insanely pursued counterrevolutionary restorative activities, the people were enraged yet could do nothing, lacking the necessary means to restrain them. Such situation still exists today. When certain leaders act arbitrarily and disregard the law, the masses desire their dismissal, yet are powerless to do so. Only when the leading organs decide to remove them are such rascals eliminated. One can thus see that, only when the democratic system is perfected will we eliminate the political conditions for such conspirators as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to pursue counterrevolutionary activities, effectively control the cadres violating law and discipline and promptly expose and purge the corrupt and the thieving, the counterrevolutionaries and other criminals endangering the socialist cause.

Democratization must undergo a development process; it cannot be perfected all at once. Our current social production force and material and cultural levels are still fairly low, and the socialist democracy cannot yet become complete. However, we must actively create the conditions and gradually perfect the work of democratization.

How do we attain democratization? Democratic legalization is the first requirement, so that democracy is guaranteed by laws and regulations. We have formulated a relatively perfect socialist constitution which, as the fundamental system, protects the people's democratic rights. However, the constitution can only make basic and general provisions on the fundamental issues in social life, but cannot include detailed stipulations on all the concrete problems. As proved by practice, just the basic recognition of the people's democratic rights is inadequate, and we need concrete systems and concrete laws to protect such rights, threading the democratic principles through all the systems and laws, for otherwise, the constitution will turn into a mere empty paper. For instance, the constitution provides the people with the rights to vote, to be elected, to supervise and to dismiss, but such basic provisions can only be concretely enforced by means of the election law, for otherwise the right to vote provided in the constitution can still be nullified. In view of the lesson of experience when voting became only a formality, the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, when revising and passing the new election law, adopted the pattern

of full democracy, giving the masses the power to recommend the slate of candidates, changing the equal-quota election to unequal-quota election and unequivocally providing the voters with the rights to supervise and dismiss their representatives, thereby giving even better systematic protection to the people's rights to manage the state.

With legal provisions to safeguard democracy, there is the issue of enforcement, because "there is always a way to evade any law and refuse to carry it out, or even to feign compliance." To democratize, we need organizational measures to safeguard democracy and such structures as sound judicial organs, disciplinary investigative organs, and organs in charge of letters and visits from the public. During their rampage, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" smashed the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts, and the law enforcement structures were completely paralyzed. As a result, the drags of society came to the surface, defying laws human and divine and trampling the constitution and laws. Therefore, to democratize and legalize, we must set up and make sound the judicial organs and employ a group of impartial judicial personnel who enforce the law strictly before we can attain the stage of observance of the law, strict enforcement of the law and punishment for violations, and "equality of all before the law," and safeguard democratization. Besides establishing the necessary administrative structures, we must also create and make sound disciplinary investigative structures in the party to protect the legitimate democratic rights of the party members, make timely supervision and investigation of the party cadres, and prevent the existence of any party members with special privileges. Ours is a party in power. Only when intra-party democracy is guaranteed can the people's democracy be realized. Each and every party member must obey the 12 articles of intra-party code of living and take the lead to observe law and discipline and develop democracy. In addition, to make it easy for the people to manage the affairs of the state and bring closer the relationships between the party and the masses and between the government and the masses, we must also establish and make sound the system on letters and visits from the public and handle such letters and visits successfully.

To democratize, it is important for the cadres to have a democratic work style. Once we have the laws and organs to safeguard democracy, if the cadres lack a desirable democratic style, the people's democratic rights may still encounter infringement. Our cadres are the public servants of society, not the masters of the people. The people have the power to supervise them. The cadre appointment and life tenure systems followed in China today once produced a positive effect, but many problems indeed exist, making it easy to depart from supervision by the masses and to engender bureaucraticism. Reforms are urgently needed. To prevent arbitrary actions by a minority and ensure the accuracy of the party's leadership, we must firmly follow

the principle of collective leadership. Regardless of who it is or how high the position, no one may place himself above the party and the state or disrupt the principle of collective leadership by the party committee.

Making sound the democratic life is an important means of democratization. To ensure the healthy development of democracy, we must have a normal democratic life. From the people's congresses and party congresses of all levels to the staff and workers meetings and the democratic meetings of teams and groups, held according to schedule, all are important systems of the socialist democracy. For many years, such systems encountered the interference and disruption of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and became abnormal. Some basic levels failed to call a staff and worker delegates meeting for 8 or 10 years, and the staff and workers had no way to express their opinions to the leading organs or exercise their management and supervisory powers over the enterprise. The atmosphere of democracy was extremely depressed. Though some areas called such delegates meetings, as the democratic system was unsound, the choice of delegates and the selection of the members of the leading organs could not reflect the true desires of the voters, and the meetings were merely formalities. After smashing the "gang of four," the democratic life of all aspects has gradually normalized. We must firmly establish the concept of the people as the masters of the socialist society, consciously respect their opinions and democratic powers, cultivate the superior style of consulting the masses on everything, enable the broad cadres and masses to form a desirable democratic trend and make democracy a new habit and practice of socialism.

As China was historically a feudal state long dominated by the small producer patriarchal system, we had only the tradition of dictatorship, not the tradition of democracy. After the founding of the nation, the socialist democratic system, barely created, encountered Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" feudal fascist despotic destruction, which was manifested in the inadequate democratic life in all aspects. Many people are accustomed to the feudal patriarchal guidance, but unaccustomed to handling affairs according to the democratic pattern. They think only of centralism, not democracy, and consider despotism as socialist centralism. There are also many others who are fettered by the force of habit of small production, preferring anarchism and democracy, not centralism, and taking extreme egoism as the socialist democratic system. Both erroneous tendencies are the scourges left down to us by the feudal system and serious obstacles to democratization. We must strengthen the education on the socialist democracy among the people, resist anarchism while combating bureaucraticism, correctly handle the relationships between democracy and centralism, between democracy and the rule of

law, between freedom and discipline, between the individual and the collective, and between rights and obligations, and include them in the course of democratization. By so doing, we will create a vivid and vigorous political situation with both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both united will and individual ease of mind, in order to consolidate our socialist system and build our modernized nation.

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PARTY AND STATE

REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTER MARTYRED BY 'GANG OF FOUR' PRAISED

Beijing ZHONGGUO Q NGNIAN BAO in Chinese 22 Apr 80 pp 1-2

[Report: "His Red Heart Illuminates History--On Loyal Proletarian Revolutionary Fighter Shi Yunfeng [0670 0061 1496"]

[Text] Editor's Note: "Who in our human experience since antiquity has not ultimately died? But he did so with a Red heart to illuminate history!" Shi Yunfeng deserves to be regarded as such a proletarian man of unyielding integrity; he is another Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] of our time. When the "gang of four" was on the rampage, Shi Yunfeng, worried about the party and the state, disregarded his own safety and came forward to carry out a determined struggle against the counterrevolutionary sinister clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the former principal responsible person of the Jilin Provincial Party committee.

Shi Yunfeng's quality of being loyal to the party and the people and of placing the interests of the party and the people foremost, his revolutionary spirit of being undaunted in the face of tyrannical might, and his valor in being dedicated to truth have set an outstanding example for our new generation of youth. Recently, Jilin Province and Changchun Municipality convened a rally to rectify his case and vindicate him, and to restore his reputation and his party membership. In accordance with his application while he was still alive, the Chinese Communist Party's Jilin Provincial Committee decided to recognize him retroactively as a revolutionary martyr. The Jilin Provincial Committee of the Communist Youth Corps has called on youths and children of the entire province to learn from Shi Yunfeng.

In thus learning from Shi Yunfeng, we must treasure even more the situation of stability and unity, in exchange for which hundreds of millions of people have put up a heroic struggle and many martyrs have shed their blood, and we must exert ourselves even harder in dedicating all we have to the magnificent goal of the motherland in bringing about the four modernizations!

In the days when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running rampant, people fell into a state of extreme grief and resentment; those who refused to be reconciled to silence were scattered across this sacred land. They were worried about the state and the people, concerned about the future and destiny of the revolutionary cause, and hence insistent on putting up a struggle for the sake of truth. The perpetrator in Case "No 44," which made sensational news in the capital city of Jilin, martyr Shi Yunfeng, was precisely such a man who dared to insist on truth and to risk his life in putting up a heroic struggle against the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Comrade Shi Yunfeng's sacrifice occurred more than 3 years ago. But the people have never forgotten his heroic name; nor have they forgotten the towering crime of the band of Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and the former responsible person of the provincial party committee in murdering him. Today, we may find consolation in the fact that, after the Fifth Plenum of the Party's 11th Central Committee fully rectified the case and restored the reputation of the falsely implicated and persecuted great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary Liu Shaoqi, the trumped-up case of Shi Yunfeng has now also been vindicated. Here, on the basis of data gained through reinvestigation, we would like to reveal to the public the truth of the so-called "Major Counterrevolutionary Case No 44," and thereby dedicate a bouquet of pure white flowers to the martyr.

I.

In the autumn of 1974, the vicious "gang of four" proceeded to build up public opinion for their attempt to usurp the party and seize power; taking advantage of the fact that the fracas of the so-called "Confucianist-Legalist struggle," under the direction of the criticize Lin Biao and criticize Confucius campaign, was not yet over the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee further started the "post-autumn settlement of accounts" campaign, fiercely preparing to grab "the three negative elements".... People's hearts were downcast, and they felt both subdued and gloomy.

As the curtain of darkness fell on the evening of 26 October, a young man riding a bicycle appeared in the square south of Shengli Street in Changchun. Urgently pedaling his bicycle southward, he seemed to be worried about something. Suddenly he halted in front of the children's movie theater and

dropped five letters into the postal box beside the road. This man wore the top of a pale-green military uniform and a pair of blue student pants; he was tall with a rectangular face and a pair of big eyes showing a vigilant demeanor. After dropping the letters, he rushed southward along the road; he dropped more letters each time he came to a postal box, until all those in his shoulder bag had been mailed. Several days later it was this young man again who, in the darkness of the night, posted handwritten handbills in Shangli Park, on the traffic stands, etc.

After another few days, a total of 25 handbills of similar content were received in succession by 14 units, including the then provincial revolutionary committee's political department, the municipal revolutionary committee's political department, the revolutionary committees of the Chaoyang, Nanguan, Erdaohezi, and Kuancheng districts, the production and labor division of the municipal education bureau, the supply and sales center of the second municipal light industry bureau, the liaison group of the people's broadcasting station of Jilin, the dispatch office of the Changchun automobile plant, etc. With unconcealed poignance, the working of these handbills directly pointed at Lin Biao and the "gang of four," stating opinions and appraising right and wrong on major problems in our political life at the time; what people would have liked to say but dared not, and hence what was piled up in their minds, was thus all exclaimed. Look, this was what appeared on the handbills:

"The so-called Cultural Revolution is the rampage of the ultraleft line!

"Jiang Qing! Give us back the literary life of 800 million people! The national culture and traditional culture must be restored. The culture, art, movies, and dramas in the '17 years' since the founding of our state cannot be totally negated!"

"The whole party, the whole army, and the whole nation extend their condolences to Comrade Chen Yi and Comrade He Long. The appointment of bad people to important posts is determined by an erroneous line; it results in great losses to the party and the people...."

"We trust Comrade Zhou Enlai. Chairman Liu Shaoqi was our party's fine revolutionary and fine theoretician. The illegal ouster of Comrade Deng Xiaoping was not authorized....!"

"We must restore Comrade Liu Shaoqi's reputation! We wish Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Comrade Zhou Enlai, and Comrade Deng Xiaoping good health! The whole party, the whole army, and the whole nation remember Chairman Liu!"

"We must restore the reputation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi and other Marxist-Leninist leading cadres of the Party Central Committee! Chairman Liu Shaoqi was done in by an ultraleft tide in an illegal manner...! An extraordinary case of injustice for all time!"

"...The ouster of Chairman Liu Shaoqi violated both the discipline of the party and the laws of the state; it was carried out after a label was attached ahead of time. "On the Self-Cultivation of Communists" was a good book; Liu Shaoqi was not entirely wrong; his merits outweighed his demerits!"

"March forward along the line set by the 'Eighth National Congress' of the Chinese Communist Party! Long live Marxism-Leninism!"

These viewpoints represented a righteous attitude, straightforward reasoning, and a bright banner. From the standpoint of the party and the people, he wielded the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought to point out the serious mistakes committed during the Cultural Revolution, strongly demanded that the false implications against the persecuted old generation of proletarian revolutionaries like Liu Shaoqi and others be rectified and vindicated, and suggested that we should march forward along the correct line set by the Chinese Communist Party's Eighth National Congress. What rare fortitude, what courage and perceptiveness for a man in those times and in those conditions to see such issues clearly and to be brave enough to talk about those issues!

After being tested through practice, these views have all proved to be correct. In today's context, people undoubtedly dare to talk about them without avoiding anything; but in those days of darkness, they fell in the "forbidden area" that could not be touched politically. This was why it was immediately listed as "Major Counterrevolutionary Case No 44."

The situation was quickly discovered by the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee and also swiftly referred to the quarters of Wang Hongwen and Jiang Qing. The "gang of four," whose counter-revolutionary sense of smell happened to be very alert, at once felt as if there were bones pricking their throats, and thus they became uneasy in their positions. Wang Hongwen immediately issued an edict: "the content of the reactionary anonymous letter is extremely reactionary....The case should be investigated and brought to book forthwith." The edict was also reviewed and endorsed by Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan. The followers of the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee readily understood their masters' dark intent, and therefore, they immediately proceeded to follow it through; not only did they dispatch personnel to get to work on the double, they also required the various systems and units to set up task forces so as to pick up the responsibility in their sections and at their levels, respectively, in their effort to solve the case at an accelerated speed day and night. From then on, the movement to investigate and bring to book the so-called major case "No 44" began to develop throughout Changchun municipality. Both its scale of operation and its blustering commotion were unprecedented since the founding of the state.

Who was the perpetrator in the case? On the basis of the paper used for the preparation of the handbills, the Changchun Municipality's No 1 Optical

Instruments Plant quickly became the key examining unit. After intense gathering of various suspicious clues, a similar style of handwriting was finally discovered in an ideological brief submitted to the party by a worker who was applying to become a member. At the end of this ideological brief, a name was clearly signed--Shi Yunfeng. He was only 26 years old.

II.

It was hardly by accident that young worker Shi Yunfeng was able to step forward to fight for truth.

Shi Yunfeng's original given name was Shi Zhengbao [0670 2973 1405]. In December 1948 he was born to a poor worker's family. He was the first one to enter school in several generations of the Shi family. Knowing that the right to study was hard to obtain, Shi Yunfeng studied very energetically; by the time he was in middle school he had already become a "book fan" and was a constant visitor at the library. Many fine Chinese and foreign cultural legacies left a deep impression on his mind and supplied him with the nutrition of knowledge; the exemplary conduct of past and present men of principle and valor also served to nurture his spirit. After he read "The Red Cliff" and saw the movie "Eternal Life in Flame," he was deeply moved by the unyielding and forthright spirit of Xu Yunfeng [6079 0061 1496] and Jiang Jie [3-68 1195], and he therefore changed his own name to Shi Yunfeng. He appreciated Lu Xun's poem "With my eyebrows crossed, I dare to calmly face a thousand accusing fellows; With my head bowed, I would willingly serve as a cow for a helpless child"; so he took "Hengfu" [crossing-bowing] as his penname, with the intention of following the lofty character of Lu Xun in hating the enemies and loving the people. What a studious and energetic young man--innocent, enthusiastic, forthright, courageous, and full of beautiful imagination in life!

However, the path of his life was not a straight one. When Shi Yunfeng entered senior middle school at the age of only 17, the Cultural Revolution began. The storm brought forth many things which he could not understand; realities prompted him to take an interest in philosophical and political works. He seriously went through Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's books with the aim of finding answers to various problems.

When the Cultural Revolution began, Changchun Middle School No 4, where Shi Yunfeng was studying, was the first of the middle schools of the municipality to encounter chaos. In June 1966, some persons in the school rose to seize power from the party branch there, grabbing and detaining the principal and all the teachers in the classroom. Shi Yunfeng thought to himself: How could the leadership of a party organ be removed at random? How could so many teachers turn themselves into demons and freaks overnight? He then openly expressed his opposition to this way of doing things. Later, the working teams dispatched to Middle School No 4 by the provincial and municipal party committees were accused of having carried out a reactionary

line, but when a general meeting was convened in a movie theater to criticize and struggle against these working team heads, he persisted in refusing to shout the "Down with" slogans. For this reason he was dragged to the platform, with kicks and blows directed against him, to stand as an accomplice target of the struggle; however, he still did not change his viewpoint. When he saw old cadres with tall hats attached and signs hung on them pulled along the streets in a struggle procession, his heart burned with worry, and therefore he chose to argue with some people on the basis of reason: How could the words used by Chairman Mao with respect to local bullies in the peasant movement in Hunan in the early days be applied at random to today's old cadres, who had spent all their lives in the revolution? Some people accused him of saying that Chairman Mao's book was out of date; they attacked him in big-character posters accordingly. But he did not cringe. During the entire Cultural Revolution he joined no faction organization whatsoever, and he was still more averse to armed struggle.

In 1968, Shi Yunfeng responded to the party's call, and he was among the first group to register in order to be sent down to the countryside to become a member of a production team and get his training there. In 1970, he was recruited to Changchun Plant No 3504 to work as a packer; later, he was transferred to the Changchun No 1 Optical Instruments Plant as a chisel operator. He was enthusiastic in his work, eagerly participated in the propaganda work in the shop, helped put out a blackboard bulletins, and also helped everyone to study Chairman Mao's works. On several occasions he was judged to be an advanced producer, and as such he once went to Shenyang to attend a conference of representatives of militia activists of the Northeast. Subsequently he also joined the Communist Youth Corps at the plant, and thereby became a party activist. Having thus subjected himself to the impact of the waves in the sea of social life, Shi Yunfeng gradually acquired a higher ideological perception and established his own credo in life. He said: "If I am going to join the party, I must strive to become a genuine Marxist-Leninist." He looked down on the philistine style of those who resorted to opportunism and intrigue and who would trim their sails to the wind; he disliked these new personalities of privilege and influence who would harm others to benefit themselves and who were equipped with a double-face and three knives; he disdained becoming a shortsighted, purposeless, feeble man interested only in nestling in his family. He asked himself in his diary:

"In the present society, what kind of man I am going to be? What outlook am I going to have?... That of a forthright person? History and reality (both) prove that a forthright person is often subject to attacks and liable to encounter many unfortunate things. To be a thoroughly crooked person, then? No, ridiculous. To be a "peacemaker?" Would that not be wasting one's whole life and (turning one into) a hurried guest in history? It looks like the best way out is still to be a forthright person, willing to encounter unfortunate things and to be subject to attacks, but remaining open and aboveboard, upright and inspiring, high-minded and self-confident,

Is such frank self-expression not indicative of the heartfelt aspirations of a true revolutionary?

After the counterrevolutionary sinister clique of Lin Biao was exposed, Shi Yunfeng became greatly astonished and began to have even more problems to think about. He constantly sought out some party members and old cadres to discuss such problems with them, ignoring risks and fearlessly rushing into the "forbidden area" in the realm of political life in search of truth through contention and debate with comrades, fellow students, and relatives.

"Why are the principal characters in today's operas and play all female? For whom is such an image being created?" "Someone in China wishes to become an empress.

"Have Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and, Wang Hongwen not amassed their fortune through the Cultural Revolution?"

"Premier Zhou is the pillar of the people. Whenever The Chinese people were confronted with disasters and difficulties, it was always Chairman Mao who waved the command and he who rushed into battle." The hidden cause of the criticize Lin Biao and criticize Confucius campaign appears to be momentous; the attack may very well extend to Premier Zhou himself."

"When handling party (affairs), Comrade Deng Xiaoping served as general secretary; when handling government (affairs), he served as acting premier; when handling the military (forces), he served as political commissar of the Second Field Army and commanded the well-known Liu-Deng armies; and when handling diplomacy, he achieved great results at the 1962 antirevisionist meeting in Moscow, and when he came back Chairman Mao personally went to the airport to welcome him.... His prestige is very high."

"Why would we want to overthrow Liu Shaoqi?" "Could he have been completely wrong?"

"The Cultural Revolution has suffered such great losses; can't we do things some other way?"

He held that "the 61-man renegade clique" could not pass the test, and that "the February adverse current" was also unfounded.

"Near the time to go off duty on the afternoon of 25 October 1974, a female worker in the workshop told Shi Yunfeng her trouble--for several days, members of her family had had to get up at midnight to stand in line but still could not buy the coal and Pan zi [2628 1311] they needed. She thereby said excitedly: "Today people seem to be doing everything by way of the back door--joining the party by way of the back door, recruiting workers by way of the back door, advancing to a higher level in school by way of the back door, and also buying things by way of the back door; what good can this lead to?"

Without others plotting against it, the Communist Party could come to an end by itself. This is really quite a change...." As she spoke, hot tears of grief began to flow down this female workers's face. Such straightforward remarks and such openhearted solicitude about state affairs deeply touched Shi Yunfeng, who was filled with built-up anger. His thoughts began to surge and turn to many things; his breast seemed to be filled with fire. When he went home, he could not sleep well the whole night; as he repeatedly pondered the female worker's remarks, a sense of responsibility beckoned him. He silently recited a poem which he had written in respect to his ambition:

Clouds flying across the towering house would hear my cry;
I feel the violent waves pounding in my chest.
I would like to turn into a dragon and generate a great rain,
So that all dust can be washed away and dewdrops will fall.

As he thought of this, Shi Yunfeng decided to tell the views that he had long harbored in his mind, in order to contribute a bit of his strength to the restoration of the distorted and submerged truth. The next day fortunately happened to be a holiday; Shi Yunfeng spent the afternoon reducing his views to several dozen slogans and writing them down....

III.

After he mailed out the handbills, Shi Yunfeng fervently waited for society's reaction. But, unexpectedly, a few days later this matter became a "major counterrevolutionary case" that was to rock the entire city of Changchun.

The term "counterrevolutionary" shocked this hot-blooded youth, who since his childhood had ardently loved the party and the people and believed in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Could an expression of one's views for the sake of the party's cause and the people's interests be regarded as "counterrevolutionary?" He failed to understand, even after prolonged pondering. But the realities were severe and cruel; Shi Yunfeng made up his mind to prepare for the worst....

On the evening of 23 December, an old schoolmate of his came to Shi Yunfeng's house for a chat, just as he had always done. In a thoughtful mood, Shi Yunfeng told him: "It is not easy to get involved in politics; either one refrains from starting anything, or one has to break out." After a pause, he continued: "I am aware that this road is very difficult, but whenever I look at the books of Marx and Lenin, my blood starts to boil and I feel vigorous all over. A man cannot waste his life away! I am determined to struggle for Marxism-Leninism to the end...!"

It was already late into the night, but the more he talked, the more excited he became. He took out his diary and looked at the words of self-reproach he had recorded not long ago: "Feng, you have lived in this world for 26 years already, yet on the one hand you have not been able to add a single bit of glory to the state, while on the other hand you have not been able to render a single meritorious service to the people...." Shi Yunfeng recited these two clauses over and over and he sat up until 1 o'clock the next morning.

Late at night the following day, Shi Yunfeng was secretly arrested. At 2 o'clock the following morning, he was put on trial. Shi Yunfeng admitted frankly and in an aboveboard manner that he was the one who had distributed the handbills, but he maintained that the views he had expressed therein were formed on a sound basis and with good reason, and could not in any way be connected the committing of a crime. For this reason, he argued according to his own justification, candidly recalling the process of his own ideological perception so as to expound his political views. He said:

"I feel that I should dare to speak the truth and not be afraid of attacks. As for many of the problems, it was not that they had anything to do with my personal interest, but that I felt I must act like a true Marxist-Leninist and insist on truth...."

"There were many problems which I could not understand. In the early days of the Cultural Revolution, people poured into the street everywhere to struggle against the cadres: I thought to myself, these cadres were all people who had climbed the snowy mountains and crossed the grasslands, who had fought the Japanese devils and the Kuomintang, who had entered the caves with scraps and thereby tested themselves; we should not treat them this way. Jiang Qing said: 'Attack with your pen and defend yourselves with arms [in the struggles]'; I felt that this was not appropriate. Without 'armed attack,' what would be the need for 'armed defense?'"

"I always thought: if I had some doubt about politics and the line we were following, couldn't I ask a question?... Could it be that if a person turned himself into an East Wind partisan when the East Wind clique prevailed, and turned himself into a West Wind partisan when the West Wind prevailed, so long as his own interest was not affected, then would he be more trustworthy?"

Shi Yunfeng's words touched some secret feelings of those who were handling the case, but they still had to "carry out their duties" and continue to try this "counterrevolutionary" against their conscience. Here, everything was turned upside down, resulting in such contradiction and such utter nonsense. A revolutionary became a "counterrevolutionary," and the people became the "prisoners" of the dictatorship of the proletariat....

Young Shi Yunfeng for a while still could not thoroughly understand all this. More importantly, he could not entirely understand at the time what the similarity or the difference was between his own imprisonment and the imprisonment of Xu Yunfeng earlier. He followed convention in thinking that the persons in front of him were "here to try him as representatives of the party," so he repeatedly and patiently described and explained his own true situation. He said: "The place where I am now sitting is different; if I were sitting in front of Chiang Kai-shek or Soviet revisionists, I might behave like Xu Yunfeng did." While in prison, he again wrote one batch of data after another in order to explain time and again his own standpoint and viewpoint; he candidly and excitedly stated:

"I told comrades that I am loyal to the revolution, loyal to the cause of communism, and this heart of mine, which makes me willing to sacrifice myself for the happiness of mankind, is of a very bright red, bright red, bright red color!"

However, the "gang of four," the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee, and their ilk were themselves not like this. They persisted in prosecuting case "No 44," embellished its proceedings, and harbored even more vicious thoughts.

The former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee was very proud that he had succeeded in bringing the case to book, so he immediately dispatched someone to Beijing to collect the reward for his meritorious service. Two cronies of the "gang of four" stationed in the Ministry of Public Security, after listening to the briefing, heaped praise on Jilin's "material evidence breakthrough" experience, but pointed out that "only half of Case No 44 is solved, so there is a need to dig deeply behind the scenes." Thus, an operation of persecution on an even larger scale was launched.

It was really a blanket of white terror, which turned the slightest of pretexts into ready allegations. After the two dark articles--Yao Wenyuan's "On the Foundation" and Zhang Chunqiao's "On the Overall Dictatorship"--were published, the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee made further arrangements to sum up the experience of case "No 44"; at the province-wide study class for cadres above the county level, he relished talking about how to look at the necessity for overall dictatorship through this "counterrevolutionary case," so as to furnish a footnote to Yao's and Zhang's dark articles.

After the Tiananmen incident, the "gang of four" intensified their pace of usurping the party and seizing power, and along with this the prosecution of case "No 44" was also escalated. The former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee and his band, in order to develop the so-called movement for counterattack against the rightist attempt to reverse the verdict, again took up which had not yet concluded, case "No 44," and brandished it as a rock to frighten the cadres and masses who supported Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Shi Yunfeng and others were taken to general meetings of the various systems in the province and the capital city to be subjected to criticism and struggle in turn, and also dragged to the streets in processions. That day, when Shi Yunfeng's little sister heard that the truck used in the parade-struggle of her brother was coming to the southern square, she brought along her 5-year-old nephew, little Dong, to go there to see his father. Little Dong recognized the man in the truck with a black signboard hung on him, and immediately cried, "Papa, Papa," while rushing toward the truck. How the child would have liked to have hugged for a little while the papa he had been thinking of day and night; but he was scolded for "disturbing the meeting ground" and loudly reproached and

immediately taken away. That day little Dong Dong suffered this shock and when he also had a fever during the night, he continued to cry: "...I want my papa, I want my papa!"

IV.

In prison, Shi Yunfeng experienced the most severe period in the history of the Chinese revolution. In January 1976, when he heard the news of Premier Zhou's death, he could bear it no longer and broke into a heartfelt cry. Oh, Premier, Premier, when the people need you most, how can you depart from this world! With tears all over his face and with only the iron window to look at, he wrote a poem to express his deep thoughts.... In September, the news of Chairman Mao's death again reached him; tears once more soaked the face of this young man. He was in great pain, his heart was burning with anxiety, and he became even more worried about the destiny of the party and the state.

While in prison, he sensed the likelihood of his own murder, and he therefore readily proceeded to make his final preparations. He wrote letters of farewell to the respective members of his family. To his little son, he admonished, with a tear for every word: "My dear little Dong, my dear little son: You are still very small; you know how much papa loves you but cannot see you, let alone look after you.... In any case, your father is not a bad man.... You must listen to the party, follow Chairman Mao, and become an honest technical worker." Writhing in unbearable pain, he bade farewell to his parents: "You have worked hard all your lives and now come to face this; I know how aggrieved and pained you must be. Please forgive me! You no longer have this son.... If my body is given to a hospital gratis, it may be useful...."

A peal of spring thunder in October drove away the dark clouds in the sky over the motherland. How happy Shi Yunfeng was in his prison! He loudly recited Guo Moruo's poem "Shuidiao Getou." An event to delight everyone: the "gang of four" is dragged out!.... Hail to the ship of the Chinese revolution, which has now passed the hidden reef and dangerous beachhead; peril has now given way to security, and it is once more riding the wind and breaking the waves while surging ahead. Secretely, he also hoped that his own case of injustice would gain an opportunity for a new trial. But little did he expect that the fatal blow was to be administered to him after the beating of gong and drum in celebration of this victory.

As the whole nation rejoiced, the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee, who had participated in the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp the party and seize power, saw how the masses were rising to expose their crimes; he sensed that his end had come, and he began to have endless worries. In order both to hoodwink the party Central Committee and to suppress the masses, they fabricated the rumors that they had worked in opposition to the "gang of four" so as to retain power themselves on the one hand, and at the same time they also actively laid out a counterrevolutionary plan to make arrangements for the suppression of the masses on the

other hand. Against this background, case "No 44," which had dragged on for 2 years, was once more put on the agenda. On 1 December, harboring an unconscionable plot in his mind and extremely uneasy, the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee personally presided over the meeting for the study and disposal of this case; ignoring the change in the political situation after the smashing of the "gang of four," and ignoring the opinion against execution expressed by the secretary of the municipal party committee in charge of political and legal work, he hurriedly decided to impose the death penalty on Shi Yunfeng and thereby created this sensational case of utter injustice.

On 17 December 1976, more than 2 months after the smashing of the "gang of four," Shi Yunfeng suddenly received his death sentence in prison. Shi Yunfeng became extremely distressed and resentful; he cried angrily, and he argued loudly. Since both his hands and his feet were shackled and he could not defend himself by writing with a pen, he let a fellow prisoner do this for him, and an appeal of a thousand words was prepared. In this appeal, he said:

"Chairman Hua, now serving as the leader of our party, smashed the 'gang of four' in one stroke; how happy I am! From the information in the newspapers passed on to us these days, the situation is really fine. The spirit of the cadres has been revived; industrial and agricultural production has been grasped well; literature has been greatly developed; students are now studying culture; all machines in the country have started to operate.... Such a revolutionary situation is really excellent! In such a fine situation, the death sentence should not be imposed on me...."

Shi Yunfeng said that he was still very young; he would be willing to go to a place of greatest hardship to make contributions to the motherland in his remaining years. But he soberly realized that the appeal was not going to bring any hope. At the end of that appeal, he thus sadly stated:

"...If I must die, I request that the government have my flimsy family property converted to people's currency and presented to the mausoleum for Chairman Mao that is being respectfully built. That would make me very happy.

I feel very happy for the party to have a leader such as the wise Chairman Hua to guide the country. Today the situation in the whole country is really excellent. I believe that, with the "gang of four" smashed under the leadership of Chairman Hua, the day of the realization of the four modernizations in our socialist motherland is going to arrive very shortly."

This was Shi Yunfeng's farewell letter; it was his last testament. It was overflowing with unlimited, profound sentiments toward the party and fine thoughts for the future of the motherland. How could such a good young man be a "counterrevolutionary!" Why should such a man be shot?!

News of Shi Yungeng's death sentence reached the Shi family like a peal of thunder out of the blue sky; relatives were terribly grief-stricken. Shi Yunfeng's mother, old worker Chi Xiuyun, firmly believed that her son was no "counterrevolutionary." Shi Yunfeng had been accused of opposing Wang Hongwen and Jang Qing; then why should he be put to death today when the "gang of four" had already fallen? In such helpless circumstances, this mother could only wait until dawn the next day, when she braved wind and snow to trudge weakly to the gate of the provincial party committee office, raising with both hands an appeal she had written for her son in an attempt to find the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee for an appraisal. "Please save my son! They are going to kill him tomorrow, but he is not a counterrevolutionary!" "This case was tried prior to the fall of the 'gang of four'; now that the 'gang of four' is smashed, why can't it be reconsidered?" Such a heartrendering, tearful indictment sounded in the cold wind like peals of angry thunder which tore asunder the hearts of all forthright and good people. Her questioning was reasonable; her statement was well grounded. But as she appealed to heaven, heaven made no response, and as she called upon the earth, the earth made no sound....

Time relentlessly passed--minutes--seconds. The appeal was quickly turned down without going through the serious discussion called for by the legal process. The morning of 19 December was the last hour. Shi Yunfeng was brought out from the prison. He indignantly shouted: "I am wronged!" And he also proceeded to argue on the basis of reason. By this time, not a few of those who had been handling his case also felt sympathetic toward Shi Yunfeng in their hearts and wanted to win the right to life for this young man. At the precarious moment when he was formally identified and he was about to be sent to the execution ground, they were still trying to reverse the critical situation. A passenger car was seen rushing hurriedly to the house of the old secretary of the Changchun Municipal Party Committee in charge of political and legal work. This was how those who were handling the case urgently went there to give a briefing on Shi Yunfeng's "cry of injustice." This old secretary, who had indicated "My own personal opinion: no execution," immediately telephoned the person on the provincial party committee who was in charge of political and legal work at the time, and said: "The prisoner has presented an appeal; execution is not appropriate at this moment." That man replied: "Do not allow him to appeal." The old secretary again said: "The prisoner is not persuaded and wishes to speak up; execution is not appropriate at this moment." That man replied: "You may adopt some temporary measures." Before the beginning of the public trial at the gymnasium, the man in charge of political and legal work on the provincial party committee at the time telephoned the meeting place once more to say that he had again requested the opinion of the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee, which remained: "Execution according to the original sentence; pertinent measures must be adopted." By then not a shred of hope remained for salvaging the situation.

The north wind was shining. Ice and snow had covered the earth. At 10:40 a.m. on 19 December 1976, the sternly guarded prison truck was driven out from the Changchun gymnasium, with Shi Yunfeng, his hands tied behind his back, being sent to the execution ground. His face was pale, and his eyelids were swollen; 2 years of prison life had turned him into a person far older looking than his real age of 28. With a lingering glance, he looked across Stalin Street, so familiar to him, and scanned the trees covered with silver snowflakes he liked so much. Between his eyebrows and his forehead, one could still see an air of resentment and anger; he seemed to wish to say something, but it was no longer possible. How could goodhearted people ever realize that, because of certain "measures" adopted, even the final right of crying out was taken away from Shi Yunfeng!

This was a Sunday, the 10th Sunday after the smashing of the "gang of four." But when other people were raising their wine cups to celebrate, this person, who was most qualified to enjoy that good wine, was mercilessly put to death! This innocent young man had a keen urge to study and to pursue progress; on the eve of the pronouncing of his death sentence, he still told fellow prisoners with a painful smile: "I love to study very much; I have read 'How Is Steel Refined,' and also Gorky's books. I wonder if the party will give me further opportunities to study? This young man admired the hero in 'Red Cliff'; he could even cite the story in the book: Xu Yunfeng died before dawn in the devil's den of the enemy, but he said happily: 'I have already seen the victory of the proletariat in China; I feel satisfied.'" Yet he, Shi Yunfeng, had to be subjected to execution when the brilliant rays of dawn were just shining over the earth after the overthrow of the "gang of four"! How regrettable and provocative! How inconceivable!

With a red heart to illuminate history,
So long as my life is not wasted.
Having exerted oneself in the face of storm like a true man,
Even death brings satisfaction.

This poem, written by Shi Yunfeng when he was alive, is full of the spirit of revolutionary dedication and is a true reflection of precisely how his Red heart was turned toward the party in full willingness to dedicate his youth to the revolution. Although Shi Yunfeng's whole life was very brief it emanated abundant brilliance. He dedicated himself to the pursuit of truth, and with his own head and blood he wrote a fighting manifesto of condemnation to indict Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee and their band of fascists for their brutal crimes; with his tears, too, he once more wiped people's eyes clean so that they could see clearly what constituted truth and progress and what constituted misconduct and idiocy.

We are happy to see that on the good earth of Jilin today, the sun shines brightly and the scene is completely refreshing. The flower of truth nurtured by martyr Shi Yunfeng's blood will forever bloom in our great motherland to encourage people to dedicate themselves to the four modernizations!

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PARTY AND STATE

LEGAL SYSTEM STRENGTHENED BY IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW LAWS

Cadres Must Set Example

Nanning SIXIANG JIEFANG (IDEOLOGICAL LIBERATION) No 1 in Chinese published under the auspices of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Party Committee 5 Jan 80 pp 23-24

[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our nation has done a great deal of work to perfect the legal system and has made full political, ideological, and organizational preparations to create completely beneficial conditions for the implementation of new laws on 1 January of this year. Full of confidence, the broad masses say that the present situation is gratifying and spurs us all on; strengthening the legal system is in accord with the will of the people; the implementation of new laws is assured of success; and we really must have government according to law.

However, because the influence of feudalism in our country is so broad and deep, the bad influences created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" long-term attack on the legal system have still not been cleared away. Therefore, implementation of the new laws will doubtless be an even more formidable task than the formulation of these laws from the very beginning, suffering various kinds of interference and encountering various kinds of resistance. At present, this is manifested in four areas. The first is legal nihilism. Some people believe that "we can have laws or we can do without them," "Marxism-Leninism is the fundamental law," and so do not take the law seriously, do not study the law conscientiously, are not familiar with the law, and do not manage affairs in accordance with the law. The second is paying lipservice to the law. Some political science and legal personnel hate to be bothered, and intending to simplify matters they talk of rule by men rather than rule of law. They want to substitute policies for laws, make arbitrary decisions and take peremptory actions, and entertain the confused notion that doing things in accordance with the law is a hindrance. The third is the idea of special privilege. Some leading cadres capitalize on their authority, do not comply with existing laws, and place themselves above the law, feeling that laws are only to govern the common people and should not be applied to leading cadres. The fourth is the trend toward anarchism. Some people wave the banner of "democracy," exercise bourgeois liberties, deny the four basic principles,

don't speak of discipline, don't speak of a legal system, don't speak of order, don't speak of social ethics, and cause all kinds of disturbances to destroy peace, stability, and unity. These erroneous ideologies and behavior are all obstacles to the implementation of the new laws. We must continue to strip away the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," conscientiously summarize the lessons of our country's experience in several positive and several negative cases of establishment of a legal system, carry out propaganda for the legal system well, firmly establish among the broad masses of people and cadres the fundamental ideology of government according to law, achieve the greatest determination, sweep away all kinds of interference, break through tier after tier of obstructions, and struggle for complete implementation of the new laws.

If we are to implement the new laws completely, we must resolutely rely on the broad masses of people. In his closing speech to the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Ye Jianying said: "In our socialist country, the authority to make laws belongs to the people, and the thorough implementation of the laws must also depend on the people." Whether it is to supervise the illegal behavior of state organs and their working personnel or to expose illegal criminal behavior in society, all that is necessary is to truly motivate the masses, properly exercise the democratic rights bestowed by the constitution, make the masses dare to speak the truth, and dare to expose and report offenses, and the problem will be solved relatively well. We must distinguish between depending on the people to protect the legal system and the so-called dictatorship of the masses operated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; put the law under the direct control of the masses through various forms; make everyone know what it is that the law protects and what it opposes, what constitutes observance of law, and what is violation of the law; raise the consciousness of observance and protection of the law, establish a morality whereby observance of the law is glorious and violation of the law is shameful, and make legal norms the code of conduct consciously observed by the broad masses of people. Only in this way can the great authority of the legal system be truly established. At the same time, we must encourage and support the masses of people to use the weapon represented by the legal system to see that the law is properly implemented and that state organs and their working personnel operate in strict accordance with the law, and to dare to expose, report, and struggle against any criminal behavior in violation of the law. The reason why lawbreaking, undisciplined elements dared to run wild in the past was that the masses of people had not yet truly exercised their own rights. With broad popular democracy, the masses of people have ample authority to supervise the cadres, and those cadres who have been used to being arbitrary and imperious, acting according to what they said instead of according to the law, have been restrained by the masses and do not dare commit outrages or violate the law and discipline. The political science and legal agencies must resolutely protect the constitutionally stipulated rights and interests of the people against infringement, and they must be able, when any infringement occurs, to guarantee that the masses will have redress, have a basis for argument, and have the right of appeal. With regard to those

lawbreaking and undisciplined elements who abuse their power, violate the people's democratic rights, practice graft, and seek revenge against the masses who criticize and report their illegal activities, no matter how high their present position or how great their previous contributions, they must all suffer disciplinary sanctions; those among them who violate criminal laws, thus becoming criminals, must certainly be dealt with according to the law and must not be released or covered up. This will protect the sanctity of our socialist legal system and guarantee the thorough implementation of the law.

Implementation of our country's laws is carried out principally through state agencies and cadres, especially the political and legal agencies and political and legal cadres. Whether the political and legal agencies can employ the law correctly and whether the political and legal personnel can themselves serve as models in the enforcement and observance of the law is highly significant to the strengthening of our legal system. Our political and legal cadres must pay great attention to the law enforcement authority and prudently, and really achieve circumstances in which the law must be complied with, law enforcement must be strict, and violations of the law must be investigated. This is a solemn political problem, and all political and legal cadres, the various grades of leading cadres first, must take the lead in setting an example for law enforcement, being models of observance of the law and exemplars in the struggle against illegal behavior. Therefore, all of the political and legal cadres must, out of public spirit, establish a dauntless revolutionary spirit that would not grudge the sacrifice of dying in the line of duty and develop a struggle against all illegal activity in which they are undaunted by power and influence, will not practice favoritism, are not lured by promise of gain, and treat the high and the low uniformly. We must adhere to making facts the basis, making law the criterion, and in handling any case we must be true to the actual facts, faithful to the nation's laws, faithful to the interests of the people, strike at enemies accurately, and preserve the quality of our case-handling. Comrades at various levels of leadership who uphold operation according to law must be resolutely supported and protected. We must vigorously commend those political and legal personnel who are honest in performing their official duties, outspoken and unfawning proficient in their work, who dare to struggle against unlawful and criminal behavior, and who have made some contribution to the implementation of the new laws. With regard to those political and legal personnel who are guilty of malfeasance and dereliction of duty, yield in the face of power and influence, and do not hesitate to take bribes and bend the law in search of private gain, we must investigate carefully in accordance with the law, draw a clear distinction between meritorious service and faults, distinguish clearly between rewards and punishments, encourage healthy trends, and overcome unhealthy tendencies.

In order to guarantee implementation of the new laws, party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership of political and legal work. At present, the most fundamental thing is to guarantee the ability of the people's courts to exercise independent judicial authority under the law,

the authority of the people's procurator to prosecute independently under the law, and protect them from interference by other administrative organs, groups, or individuals. Only in this way will we be able to eliminate illegal interference and control from whatever quarter, guarantee that the people's courts and the people's procuratorate will uphold principles, dare to struggle resolutely against all illegal criminal behavior, and protect the interests of the nation and the people. At the same time, we must guarantee that the people's courts and people's procuratorate reach their view of reality by seeking truth from facts, employ the law properly, and dispose of cases justly. The political and legal agencies at the various levels must submit to the leadership of the party, take the initiative in seeking instructions from and reporting to the party committee at their own level, but also strictly observing the stipulations of the law when exercising the duties bestowed on them by the law. The thinking that in obeying the leadership of the party they might violate the stipulations of the law is extremely bad and must be firmly corrected. The party's leadership of political and legal agencies is primarily a leadership of line, fundamental principle, and policy, and is a definite change from the past habits and practices of not operating in accordance with the stipulations of the law and undertaking all of the work of the judicial administration. Party committees at all levels should look into and supervise how completely the political and legal agencies implement the nation's laws and the party's fundamental principles and policies, help them to summarize experiences, develop achievements, improve their workstyle, correct errors, and let the political and legal agencies better carry out the glorious task bestowed on them by the party and the people.

We Must Obey the Law

Nanning SIXIANG JIEFANG (IDEOLOGICAL LIBERATION) No 1 in Chinese published under the auspices of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Party Committee 5 Jan 80 pp 25-26

[Text] Seven important laws, including the "criminal code" and "criminal suit law," promulgated by the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress went into full effect on 1 January of this year. This symbolizes that our country has entered a new stage--that of a country ruled by law. Our political and legal workers must adhere to the principle that "we can obey the law, we must obey the law, the law must be enforced strictly, and violations of law must be investigated, so as to guarantee the complete implementation of the law and fully develop the efficacy of the law.

Strict compliance with the stipulations of the articles of the "criminal code" with regard to the conviction of crimes and the extent of penalties is the basic requirement for the political and legal agencies in achieving mandatory observance of the law. For a long time, because the political and legal agencies and personnel were influenced by the nihilism of the law, some political and legal cadres had very little concern for operating in accordance with the law and habitually followed the old practices of

going their own way and finding no law that could be obeyed. Convictions for crimes were arbitrary, sentencing was at the discretion of an individual, designations of crimes were manifold, and sentences were lopsided. No attention was given to scientific definition, no attention was given to the nature of the crime, there was no discussion of lax or strict sentencing, they blurred the distinction between crimes and non-crimes and the distinctions between different crimes, and they created a great number of unjust, false, and erroneous cases. Because of this, in handling cases strictly according to the "criminal code" after the implementation of the new laws, these comrades suddenly felt ill at ease and unaccustomed to their work. The kind of thinking that sees rules and regulations as impediments and that looks for trouble is an obstacle that must be cleared away and cannot help but affect the successful and thorough implementation of the "criminal code." We believe that on the surface, handling cases in accordance with the "criminal code" seems to be a little bit of trouble, as we must determine what crime has been committed and how it should be punished in accordance with the provisions of the criminal code. However, all that is necessary is to prosecute the suit in accordance with the conviction and penalty standards of the "criminal code" and the procedures for litigation, and the possibility of an unjust, false, or erroneous case is relatively small and the quality of case-handling relatively high; but if they do not operate in accordance with the "criminal code," it will result in what Premier Zhou pointed out early on: failure to comply with the laws we have amounts to dishonest practices and no end of trouble in the future. The time when the unjust, false, and erroneous cases come up for redress and correction is the time when we have real trouble. Therefore we must do our conviction and penalty measurement conscientiously, in accordance with the stipulations of the "criminal code" and according to the facts of the crime. In referring to the circumstances of the case, we must grasp three important links: One is the clarification of what the criminal committed and which article of the "criminal code" he violated, to discriminate strictly between illegal behavior and ideological problems the dividing line between committing an error and behavior that violates the law, investigating and undertaking legal measures only when a crime has been committed. The second is to analyze and examine the key elements of each kind of crime, set standards for the nature of the case accurately and without error, set standards for the actual names of crimes, so that this crime is this crime and that crime is that crime, as different as the waters of the Jing and the Wei rivers. The third is that in judging crimes we cannot exceed the bounds of the statutory punishments stipulated by the "criminal code," but may impose a measured punishment suited to the actual circumstances of the case, within the bounds of the stipulated statutory punishment, in accordance with the actual circumstances of the crime and the offender, the degree of harm and his attitude in acknowledging the crime. The perfunctory and slapdash method that assumes "I have the authority, I enforce the law, and I can decide everything," is totally erroneous. We must certainly work toward convictions that have a basis and limits, and punishments that are legitimate and suitable. Every case handled by the political and legal agencies has a great deal to do with this and must be treated with a high degree of responsibility toward the people.

Conviction of counterrevolutionary crimes especially must be measured overall according to what the "criminal code" stipulates as being counter-revolutionary as well as the conditions of the behavior and intentions involved. Criminal behavior that does not involve a counterrevolutionary objective cannot be designated a counterrevolutionary crime but only an ordinary crime. When sentencing, we must also set punishments strictly according to the nature of the crime. From lax to severe, all must be in accordance with the relevant clause of the "criminal code," and are restricted to the scope of punishment prescribed by law. We cannot cite the requirements of the circumstances of class struggle or the requirements of the movement to break away from the stipulations of the "criminal code," or to make the sort of lenient and severe sentences of the so-called "cooperate with the center," "keep abreast of the class struggle situation," "promote the movement," etc, or the "leaning to one side" that makes us stubbornly light in one case, stubbornly heavy in another.

When the public security, procuratorial, and judicial agencies all pursue their criminal suit activities strictly according to the legally specified procedures, it provides an important guarantee for good case-handling and the achievement of mandatory observance of the law. The investigation, arrest, bringing of charges, and judgment of a case are handled separately by the public security bureau, the procuratorate, and the court. Thus we can better develop the separate responsibilities, mutual coordination, and mutual interaction of the three agencies, clearly guarantee the rights of the people involved in the suit, and assure the quality of the case-handling. This tightly organized, effective, and scientific procedure for suits must be strictly observed and resolutely implemented. However, some of our political and legal cadres feel that handling cases according to the legally specified procedures is too much trouble, an "unnecessary move," cancels out their internal strengths, and binds them hand and foot. This attitude is similarly erroneous. Handling cases strictly according to legal procedures not only does not weaken their own strength or bind them hand and foot but on the contrary can guarantee that in the struggle against crime we will keep the initiative and occupy the advantageous position, can guarantee the punishment of all criminal elements surely, accurately, and relentlessly, and can thoroughly assure the democratic rights of the people. Of course, the legally prescribed procedure for lawsuits is a strong restraint against arbitrary arrest and detention and extortion of confessions through torture. This kind of restraint is completely necessary. As specified by the criminal prosecution law, the investigation, arrest, and preliminary interrogation in a criminal case are the responsibility of the public security bureau; permission to arrest (including investigation) and bringing of public charges are the responsibility of the people's procuratorate; passing judgment is the responsibility of the people's court. This division of responsibility is aimed at a common objective--the investigation of crimes and the punishment of criminals. The relationship between the three is like that between the processes in an industrial shop, the first process making full preparations of suitable quality for the benefit of the last process, and if the work of the first stage is not done well, it creates difficulties for the work of the latter stages. The lawsuit procedure is like

the "rules of operation" of a factory, and violating them can cause an accident or produce "rejects." If we do not operate according to legal principles or proceed according to lawsuit procedures, we may create such a mess that it will be impossible to handle the case properly. The method that violates lawsuit procedures by saying that "one chief represents three chiefs" or "one employee represents three employees" is totally erroneous and must be resolutely opposed and restrained. To handle a case without going through three agencies or three procedures, deciding it all in one agency and leaving the other agencies to go through the motions and apply their rubberstamps, seems simple and economical, but the result is a loss of supervision and restraints which will certainly make it easier for errors to occur--in less serious cases to violate the personal rights or democratic rights of citizens, or lock them up, and at the more serious, sentence them to prison, apply the death penalty, and break up or destroy families. The lesson of history is one that we must remember firmly.

The public judging of cases and the right of the accused to defend himself are important aspects of the political and legal agencies working toward mandatory observance of the law and the reasonable and legal punishment of criminals. Public trial is a basic principle of our country's criminal procedure, and only by conscientiously implementing public trial can we assure the completion of our trial tasks. At the same time, by putting trial activities under the supervision of the broad masses of the people, we contribute to the strengthening of the mission and guarantee that trial activities will be carried out correctly and legally, as well as achieve the correct disposition of cases. It can also be more instructive to the parties concerned and fully develop the propaganda and educational effect of trial work for the broad masses of the people. Except for cases that involve national security and shameful secrets of individuals, as well as crimes committed by juveniles, everything goes to public trial. As specified by our constitution and our criminal prosecution law, the defendant has a right to obtain a defense. Because our country is a socialist country and is ruled by the dictatorship of the proletariat, neither the fight against crime nor the protection of the people may be emphasized to the neglect of the other. Just as our nation will not permit criminal elements to go free outside the law, neither will it permit the heavy sentencing of someone who is innocent of any crime or who is guilty of a minor crime. Giving the accused the right to defend himself is the embodiment of our country's socialist democracy and helps to protect the personal rights, democratic rights, and other rights of the citizens. From the standpoint of the lawsuit, prosecution and defense are the two sides in the unity of opposites, and the only way to avoid errors in cases is to understand thoroughly both the prosecution and the defense. Therefore, the defendant should be allowed the right of defense during the investigative phase, and especially during the trial phase in the courtroom. It is legitimate either for the defendant to conduct his own defense or to appoint an attorney to defend him in conjunction with his close family and neighbors. Because "defendant" is not the same as "criminal," he will not be called a "criminal" until a guilty verdict by the people's court goes into effect. Therefore, we should conscientiously investigate and verify the defendant's explanations and counterevidence. Our political and legal cadres must not

view the defendant's arguments as a "defiance" or a "bad attitude," nor must they feel inconvenienced, disrupted, or troubled because someone is participating in the defense in a public trial. Rather, we should strengthen our own work and raise the level of case-handling by conclusive evidence to verify the crime, expose the crime, and punish the criminal. Only in this way will we be truly able to protect the authority of the law, punish the criminals, protect the people, and guarantee the successful advancement of the four socialist modernizations.

9284

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

XIZANG MEETING ATTENDANTS DISCUSS PROSPERITY MEASURES

OW051943 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1143 GMT 5 Jun 80

[Text] Lhasa, 5 Jun--Over the past several days, the comrades attending the enlarged meeting of the Xizang Autonomous Region party committee, which is being held in Lhasa, have earnestly studied and discussed the CCP Central Committee's directive on Xizang's tasks and the eight principles as well as the "six major measures" jointly put forward by Comrades Hu Yaobang and Wan Li and comrades in Xizang.

Some veteran cadres and fighters, who have been in Xizang since the early 1950's, say: The tasks, principles and measures put forward by the central authorities have taken full consideration of reality in Xizang, a special nationality area. In the past Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou also noticed this and, during the democratic reform period, adopted a series of special measures that were different from those in other inland areas, thus enabling Xizang to achieve one victory after another. As a result of a decade's catastrophe caused by interference and the ravages of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the party's practical work style for the nationality areas was abandoned. The party's fine tradition has now returned to Xizang again.

Yang Youcai, a Tibetan and first secretary of the Changdu Prefecture CCP Committee, has pledged that, when he returns to Changdu after the meeting, he will certainly organize other cadres to thoroughly eradicate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and turn the central authorities' directive and the central leading comrades' proposals into actual deeds. These days, he and other prefectural and county cadres have studied and formulated the following seven measures to "harness poverty":

1. Relentlessly denounce the ultraleftist ideas, emancipate the minds, quickly implement the policies on people, economics, nationality and religion and mobilize all positive factors to improve the living standards of the people in Changdu as soon as possible.
2. To readjust the oversized production teams, which are unfavorable to production and in which the masses feel uncomfortable, and give as much

consideration as possible to the formation of natural hamlets, each preferably composed of about 20 households.

3. Agriculturally, the production team's right to determine its own production will be respected; the measures of contracting work to job groups and assessing rewards according to output will be popularized; a bigger system of payment partly in kind and partly in cash, the measures of tilling "grain ration plots" and the measure of fixing output quotas for each household will be used to help those who have long-standing difficulties and those production teams that have made no progress in work for a long time.

4. Animal husbandry will be energetically promoted; the number of privately owned livestock will be increased; the production team's goats, cattle and crossbred cattle will be raised by individual households, but the young livestock and livestock products will belong to them after they have fulfilled the production quotas.

5. Under the prerequisite of observing the state's relevant policies and protecting the natural resources, the commune members will be encouraged to engage in sideline and handicraft production.

6. The policy of allowing people to have privately owned plots, trees and hills will be properly implemented; agricultural crops and trees planted by the commune members around their houses will become their property.

7. Well-off teams and households will be encouraged to further explore more financial resources so that they can become even more prosperous; the poor teams and poor households will be helped to promote production and the policies will be further relaxed for them so that they can stand up as quickly as possible.

Several county party committee secretaries from the Shannan Prefecture have also discussed how they can help the masses to become better off as quickly as possible. The leading comrades of Yadong County, situated at the border of China, Sikkim and Bhutan, have discussed further relaxing policies concerning small-scale trade in the border areas, woodland ownership, production responsibilities, livestock breeding and promotion of the commune members' sideline occupations so as to hasten the county's prosperity.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG NEWSPAPER COMPARES TIBET, TAIWAN

HK030741 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 31 May 80 p 1

[Column article: "The Image of Taiwan in Tibet"]

[Text] The day Premier Hua Guofeng flew to Tokyo for his Japan visit, Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CCP, was not among those who saw him off. Later, a radio broadcast from Lhasa reported that he and Wan Li had gone to Tibet. The report also indicated that Ren Rong, first secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region CCP Committee, had already resigned. Former secretary Yin Fatang is now the acting first secretary.

This was the first time that Beijing's highest ranking officials had gone to Tibet. Before this, only Chen Yi and Hua Guofeng had been to Tibet; however, at that time, neither occupied a position as high as that of Hu Yaobang, a general secretary. They were only members of the Politburo or vice premiers. This shows the current importance attached to work in Tibet.

Both Hu Yaobang and Wan Li indicated that the purpose of this trip was to conduct consultations on plans to raise the level of the material and cultural life of the Tibetan people in the shortest time possible.

The two officials went on the inspection tour after numerous discussions on work in Tibet had been held in the CCP Central Committee Secretariat and after eight principles had been proposed by the Central Committee. Several points are particularly noteworthy in the eight principles. One is that all decisions and measures which do not receive the wholehearted approval and support of the Tibetan people will have to be changed or will have to wait (note the word wholehearted here); two is that the localities are allowed not to have to implement or to make adjustments to those principles and policies of the Central Committee which are not suitable to the realities in the localities (expanded power of the localities); three is that in devoting great efforts to grooming Tibetan cadres, the fewer the number of cadres sent from other places the better (strong semblance of autonomy).

During their tour, they specifically mentioned the question of raising the standard of living of the people of Tibet. They also pointed out two things: 1) The Tibetan people have the lowest standard of living compared with other places; and 2) the state allocates the biggest share of funds to Tibet, compared with other places. Tibet needs special consideration.

From the western part of China, one thinks of the eastern part. From Tibet, one thinks about Taiwan.

Taiwan is the province with the highest standard of living in the whole country. The living standard in the province with the lowest standard should be raised; the living standard in the one with highest standard should be maintained.

Tibet is an autonomous region. The eight principles have given it even more autonomy--not national but regional autonomy. Aside from discarding its claim to be an independent state and changing its flag, everything else could be left intact.

For Tibet, the policy is for as many Tibetan cadres to be appointed as possible; the policy for Taiwan is for it to reserve the right to appoint personnel. The Taiwan authorities will have the right to retain those officials they want to retain and remove those they want to remove. It is possible that Beijing will not appoint cadres to the local administration, so there is no question of "infiltration." The right to personnel appointment is one of the latest concessions proposed by Beijing. At first look, it does not seem to be important. Inasmuch as other things will be left unchanged except for a change of flag, the right of personnel appointment is but a matter of course. But upon serious reflection, one realizes that this guarantees no "infiltration." It is then, something really new and deserves to stand side by side with the other five conditions previously proposed.

There are some differences between Tibet and Taiwan. However, one thing in common is that there are people in both places pushing for independence. Beijing received one delegation from the Dalai Lama after another and is ready to welcome him back. Among those received, there were also people who previously opted for independence. Receiving and consulting with them does not in any way affect Beijing's stand against "the independence of Tibet." Naturally, the same goes for Taiwan.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG PAPER COMMENTS ON EVENTS IN XIZANG

HK080618 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 8 Jun 80 p 6

["Random Talk on the News" by Lin Wei: "Internal and External Factors in Governing Xizang"]

[Text] "Xizang is an inseparable part of the sacred territory of the motherland; it is a region of particular economic, cultural and natural importance." This viewpoint has been put forward by the Central Committee, as revealed in RENMIN RIBAO.

Eye-catching events have recently taken place in this particularly important region.

The Central Committee has proposed an eight-point guiding principle and demanded changes in the poverty-stricken appearance of Xizang. On 20 May, General Secretary Hu Yaobang and Vice Premier Wan Li put forward still more specific demands while inspecting Xizang under central orders: Change the poverty-stricken appearance of Xizang in 2 to 3 years, exceed the previous best levels in 5 to 6 years, and bring about a relatively great improvement in 10 years.

This seems to be the first time that the Central Committee has come out to demand changes in the poverty-stricken appearance of a region.

Before Xizang was established as an autonomous region, it could be said to be still in the period of replacing the serf and feudal societies. After the autonomous region was set up, the state consistently provided full support for construction there and allocated Xizang more funds than to any other province, municipality or region, yet the current standard of living of the people in Xizang lags far behind that of other provinces, municipalities and regions.

An inspection carried out by Hu Yaobang and Wan Li was aimed at finding out the reason for this. There are two reasons. First, the policies on nationalities, cadres and religion have not been completely implemented. In common with China proper, Xizang abolished private plots and banned

religious activities; in addition not enough Xizang nationality cadres were trained, while in the final analysis there was alienation between the Hans and the Xizang people. This increased the difficulties in carrying out work. The second reason is that economic work has not been carried out in accordance with reality. Xizang's characteristics are difficult communications, poor natural conditions and backward economy, politics and culture. However in the past these characteristics were not studied; the same policies and regulations were instituted and the same targets set as in China proper, and the needs of the Xizang people could not be satisfied. For instance, Xizang people like to eat zanba [roasted qingke barley flour], but some years ago the stress was solely on cultivating winter wheat and cultivation of qingke was neglected. Xizang was already poor, but it still had to meet procurement quotas. This way of doing things amounts to not allowing the Xizang people a chance of rest and recuperation.

Since Hu Yaobang and Wan Li carried out their inspection, it has been emphasized that construction must be carried out in light of the characteristics of Xizang. It has been decided to waive procurement quotas for several years, and it has been proposed that Xizang nationality cadres should become as soon as possible the main force leading construction in Xizang. This is the right medicine for the illness.

Doing a good job of construction in Xizang means doing a good job of construction of one-eighth of China's territory. This can be described as "internal."

However there is also "external" significance in making a success of construction in Xizang. The Soviet Union has schemed "Xizang independence" more than once; if the living standards of the Xizang people are improved, no more "independence movements" can be started. China has consistently appealed to the Dalai Lama to return home, and while members of the Dalai's delegation are visiting China, China has announced the principles for speeding up construction in Xizang, which can narrow the distance between China and the Dalai. Xizang is an autonomous region, and Beijing has revealed more than once that the form of autonomy can also be adopted for Taiwan on returning to the motherland. In that case, if the autonomy policy for Xizang can better meet the interests of the Xizang people, it can establish a pattern for Taiwan.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG JOURNAL EDITORIAL ON REHABILITATION OF LIU SHAOQI

HK021447 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 32, 1 Jun 80 p 4

[Editorial: "Be Bolder and Even Bolder"]

[Text] Whenever it is, righteous causes are very much the will of the people. For the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi, the CCP held a memorial service of a high order. It was a righteous cause and is very much the will of the people. Nevertheless, the 16 May RENMIN RIBAO editorial entitled "On the Rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi" was not written in a sufficiently bold and assured way. It has aroused the following reaction: The CCP has sought truth from facts regarding Liu. (This is of course good.) However, it has not sought truth from facts regarding Mao.

The CCP has repeated the phrase seeking truth from facts for tens of years. It has in fact been repeated from Yanan to Beijing and from the 1930's to the 1980's. However, what was the actual performance? The past practices of expanding the antirightist struggle, of unscrupulously engaging in the Great Leap Forward and of accusing Peng Dehuai for his "rightist tendency" were all against the principle of seeking truth from facts. In addition, people did not obtain a clear picture of exactly what revisionism was when they vigorously talked about and engaged themselves in opposing revisionism and attacking Liu Shaoqi as the "general boss of the revisionist clique." It was really a political farce which violated the principle of seeking truth from facts. In the past 3 years or so, the CCP has vigorously corrected past mistakes and advocated seeking truth from facts. It has actually reversed the verdicts on the greatest unjust case. This verdict was very difficult to reverse. The outstanding achievements scored have been obvious to all and the great boldness exerted has also won universal praise. However, people have generally held that the CCP ought to be bolder and even more bolder in handling certain issues.

On the issue of the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi, had the highest power-holders of the CCP been bolder, then in the first place the issue would not have been dragged on for such a long time. (Nearly 3 months passed

between the announcement of Liu's rehabilitation and the memorial service.) Second, the editorial in memory of Liu would not have contained so many contradictions.

At which points has insufficient boldness appeared?

An outstanding point is that the CCP has overestimated the obstacles and pressure opposing the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi and that it has lingering fear. The RENMIN RIBAO editorial noted:

"It was not easy to decide whether to redress the case publicly. The case related to the overall situation of the Cultural Revolution, and the Central Committee had to think over the implications in considering rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi. Criticism of Comrade Liu Shaoqi had been extensive and for a long period during the Cultural Revolution. Many people, young people in particular, were not acquainted with Comrade Liu Shaoqi's history or knew little about it, and it was difficult for them to get to know all the facts about the Cultural Revolution. In these circumstances, the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi was naturally bound to have repercussions, giving rise to various distortions, rumor-mongering by enemies at home and abroad, and even conjectures among comrades inside and outside the party who were not familiar with the facts."

The RENMIN RIBAO editorial also noted: These might cause the rehabilitation to give rise to "possible consequences"!

It was probably because of the consideration to avoid the "repercussions," "distortions," "conjectures" and "consequences" that the RENMIN RIBAO editorial used a lot of words to eulogize Mao Zedong (though it publicly said for the first time that one of Mao Zedong's arguments "lacks something"), and at the same time pointed out that "Comrade Shaoqi also made some mistakes." Hence people have tended to feel that the editorial was not written in a sufficiently bold and assured way.

The difficulties of the CCP were surely understandable. Today, among the ranks of cadres, including those in the army, there are still remnants of the "gang of four," the "whatever" factionalists and ultraleftists. Senior cadres who regard Liu Shaoqi as "Liu revisionist" and Deng Xiaoping as "Deng revisionist" are still active. We must underestimate either their strength or the possibility that they would kick up a fuss over the issue of the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi. It was hence necessary to act prudently. However, if we overestimate their strength too much, we will have our hands and feet tied and glance to and fro with reverence and awe. In other words, we will not be bold enough. In this way, we will not be able to do a good job of everything.

The fact that there is not enough boldness is because of such "over-estimations" on the one hand and of an "underestimation" on the other. That is to say, there is an inadequate estimation of the strength of the masses.

This problem was also manifested in the RENMIN RIBAO editorial. The editorial did not adequately emphasize the desire, demand and response of the masses throughout the country regarding the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi. It merely used the general remark that the rehabilitation "has been supported and acclaimed by the whole party and the people of the whole country." As a matter of fact, the people have rehabilitated Liu Shaoqi in their hearts a long time ago. The masses will definitely support the righteous act. As it is "supported and acclaimed by the whole party and the people of the whole country," what is there to fear?

Both the overestimation and the underestimation are out of step with the principle of seeking truth from fact. They are both undesirable. It is particularly important to have an adequate estimation of the standard and strength of the masses. Today's masses are not fools. They will not play the role of those being deceived in the political arena. So long as you trust and respect the masses and earnestly and sincerely do good deeds for the people, tens of millions of people will trust and support you. In this way, when appraising Mao, it would not be necessary to be overcautious and hem and haw; and when rectifying organizations, the work will not be done in an irresolute and sloppy way. The two issues are major current problems which must be solved. We oppose rashness and advocate sedateness. We do appreciate very much the unhurried and sedate work style of the CCP on certain issues (such as in handling the petty "gang of four"). However, we cannot approve of the kind of overcautious practice of reconciling a very small number at the expense of being estranged from the majority. If ever there is any "possible consequences," this will be the truly adverse one.

Wise statesmen will derive strength from the masses. It is in fact the source of boldness. The CCP actually emphasizes "the four upholds." To strengthen its boldness, it is hoped that it will first uphold the most fundamental Marxist principle--the mass view.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LIAO PING'S SUPPORT FOR LIU SHAOQI, PENG ZHEN NOTED

OW270840 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1434 GMT 26 May 80

[Report on BEIJING RIBAO 26 May commentator's article: "To Work for the Four Modernizations, One Also Must Dare To Persist in Seeking Truth From Facts"]

[Text] Beijing, 26 May--Today the BEIJING RIBAO frontpages a long newsletter entitled "He Is Made of 'Special Material,'" introducing the deeds of Liao Ping, formerly acting secretary of the Beijing No 1 Machine Tool Plant party committee, who cried out against the frameup of Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Peng Zhen. At the same time the paper also publishes a commentator's article.

The commentator's article, entitled "To Work for the Four Modernizations, One Also Must Dare To Persist in Seeking Truth From Facts," says: During the years when waves of erroneous criticisms against the great Marxist Comrade Liu Shaoqi were spreading all over the country, Communist Party member Liao Ping, upholding the party's tradition of seeking truth from facts, began to study seriously, make repeated comparisons and think deeply. When he discovered that the criticisms against Liu Shaoqi, Peng Zhen and other party and state leaders were purely distortions and frame-ups and entirely violated the party's principle of seeking truth from facts, he resolutely submitted a letter to the authorities to complain about the injustices against Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Peng Zhen and others, using the right given him by the party constitution and in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, without any thought about his personal safety. Although he incurred the wrath of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company for telling the truth and suffered all kinds of hardships for several years in prison, he never changed his correct view and firmly believed that his problem could be cleared up, thus setting an example for us in daring to uphold truth and adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts under complicated conditions.

The article says: Today, when we work for socialist modernization, we still should learn and develop this revolutionary spirit to persist in seeking truth from facts. The socialist four modernizations program is

a great, complex and arduous undertaking. We have a series of favorable conditions for doing a good job in the four modernizations program. However, there still exist before us a series of "realms of necessity," that is, realms we still do not understand and still have not grasped their objective laws. Under the circumstances, how can we work for the four modernizations with greater, faster, better and more economical results? How can we avoid or reduce mistakes, waste and big waves? One important rule is to firmly act according to the party's ideological line and uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding principle for us to work for the four modernizations. However, we must closely integrate Marxism with our practice in the four modernizations program and use the basic Marxist viewpoint to study and solve new problems, and we must not indiscriminately copy word for word certain individual conclusions, words and phrases. Some customary viewpoints and ways of the past should be summed up and examined according to the principle that practice is the only criterion of truth and in the light of today's new conditions. Practice which proves to be helpful to the socialist four modernizations program must be upheld and developed. Practice which proves to be harmful to the four modernizations must be changed. As to the things which are products of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it is only natural that we must set them straight, and we must not think that all things that are customary are correct.

In setting plans and targets, we not only must think about whether they are necessary and whether their implementation is possible, but we must also act according to our own ability and exert efforts according to objective conditions; we must not practice subjectivism and blindly set high targets. Although doing things this way seems slow, in the end it is really fast because we can make steady progress. We must work in a down-to-earth manner with efficiency and a scientific approach. We must neither loudly brag about our work, practice formalism nor resort to deception and crooked ways. Our modernization must suit our country's characteristics and must be realized in the Chinese way. In implementing policies and measures or popularizing advanced experience, we must consider local conditions, take local characteristics into account, give free rein to local advantages, develop local strong points and correct shortcomings. We must not demand uniformity in everything or indiscriminately copy experiences of others.

The article points out that persisting in seeking truth from facts is not easy. It requires a revolutionary spirit of selflessness and of daring to uphold truth, because persistence in seeking truth from facts means speaking the truth and sometimes requires one to raise views that are different from those held by the majority of leaders. Of course, under today's conditions the party is not permitted to irresponsibly put labels on, bludgeon, or even attack or persecute those comrades who raise different views in accordance with democratic centralism. But in some localities and units, these comrades can still be elbowed out,

attacked or even persecuted to a certain degree. Therefore, it is impossible for those people whose minds are filled with individualist or cliquish ideas to persistently seek truth from facts. When faced with major issues of principle, these comrades become like rootless duckweeds that move with the tide. Only those fighters who serve the people and the revolutionary cause with all their heart and soul and those who are willing to sacrifice everything in seeking truth dare to persist in seeking truth from facts.

Because Comrade Liao Ping regarded the fate of the party and the state and the interests of the people above everything else, he dared to bravely step forward, spoke for truth and raised different views concerning the biggest frameup case in the party. Today there are still some unhealthy trends and evil practices in our society, and we still encounter interference from "left," rightist and various erroneous ideological trends and tendencies on our road of progress. To insure the successful implementation of the party's line, principle and policy and accelerate the four modernizations, each and every revolutionary comrade must learn from Liao Ping in daring to encourage healthy trends, positively resist all unhealthy trends and evil practices and defend the interests of the party and people.

The article says that to earnestly seek truth from facts, it is not enough to merely desire persistently seeking truth from facts without carrying out thorough investigation and study. Only by obtaining an in-depth understanding of the "fact" can one say that one is "seeking truth" and can one arrive at the real "truth." Mainly because Comrade Liao Ping had conducted all possible investigation, study, analysis and comparisons permitted by prevailing conditions, thus obtaining a relatively in-depth understanding of the problem, did he dare to uphold truth. The four modernizations call on our leading cadres at all levels to go deep into the realities of life, go into the midst of the common people and earnestly familiarize themselves with and thoroughly understand the situation, problems and tendencies of various work as well as the cadres' and masses' sentiments and needs. In dealing with important and complicated problems, leading cadres must organize experts to carry out systematic and meticulous investigation and study as well as scientific analysis and accounting to propose several plans for solving problems. They must mobilize all personnel concerned and carry out in-depth discussions and debates by letting everyone freely express their views before choosing the best plan of action. If we divorce ourselves from the masses, lose contact with reality and have a blurred view or even become blind to the objective environment, it will be impossible for us to seek truth from facts.

PARTY AND STATE

EXHIBITION IN MEMORY OF LIU SHAOQI VIEWED

HK031214 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 May 80 p 3

[Newsletter by reporters Zhang Tianlai (1728 1131 0171) and Ge Zengfu (5514 1073 4395): "A Great Life"--notes on a visit to the "Exhibition in Memory of Comrade Liu Shaoqi"]

[Text] An endless stream of people surged into the solemn and quiet hall.

"It is a good thing that history is written by the people." High on the wall of the hall was written this famous motto from Comrade Liu Shaoqi. This was what Comrade Shaoqi had said to his own folks in those days when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild and wanted to erase his name from the history of the Chinese revolution. Now the exhibition with over 600 objects of historic significance on display is a summary of Comrade Shaoqi's great life.

At one side of a creek with its shimmering blue water lay a scattering of peasant huts that hugged a mountain slope overgrown with luxuriant trees. This was Tanzichong of Ningxiang County, Hunan Province. Over 82 years ago, our esteemed and beloved Comrade Liu Shaoqi was born in this mountain village. From that small mountain village, he entered society and went all over China, fighting for the liberation of the Chinese people and their welfare until he died.

Wage a Resolute Struggle Against the "Leftist" Line

We carefully went over the articles, letters and notes written by Comrade Shaoqi. In the second revolutionary war, Comrade Liu Shaoqi waged a resolute struggle against the "leftist" opportunist line of Li Lisan and Wang Ming. His Marxist views expressed several decades ago still carry weight.

On the surface of a big board was displayed his work "Changes in Slogans." Published in the first issue of the magazine BOLSHEVIK, Vol 2, in October 1928, it was reprinted in boldface type for exhibition here today. In an attack on the "leftist" line, the writer pointed out that the "leftist"

policy and slogans in urban work must be corrected. He especially stressed the need to make a strict distinction between propaganda and action slogans and commands. As he pointed out: "In the past, we failed to see clearly the nature of these slogans, confusing slogans of propaganda and encouragement with commands. There have been cases of coercing and commanding the masses to wage struggle, to stage riots and to..." What Comrade Shaoqi pointed out here was precisely a main cause of the "leftist" line and a form of its manifestation.

Then we saw a mimeographed copy of a letter that Comrade Shaoqi wrote in Tianjin in February 1937 to Comrade Zhang Wentian, then secretary of the party Central Committee, about "several problems related to historical lessons in the great revolution." This was the third letter that Comrade Shaoqi wrote in the spring of that year to the party Central Committee. On the surface of a board a passage from the letter was copied in big characters: "The failure of the revolution was apparently due to Chen Duxiu's rightist mistakes (apart from objective factors). But before its failure and long before that, leftist 'mistakes' were not unheard of. Such 'leftist' mistakes at least helped in counterrevolution." "The immediate problem now is that since the '7 August' meeting, we have failed to recognize that 'leftist' mistakes existed in the past. We have approved all past leftist mistakes, taking these leftist actions as the most revolutionary manifestations that should not be corrected but should be encouraged. Moreover, anyone who says that 'leftist' mistakes existed in the past has been found guilty of opportunism and accused of doubting the Chinese proletariat."

Later, in early March, Comrade Shaoqi wrote "A Letter on Past Work in the White Area to the Party Central Committee." When this letter was discussed at the national conference on work in the white area held in Yanan in May, those who adhered to the "leftist" line accused Comrade Shaoqi of being "a diehard rightist." But Comrade Mao Zedong praised that letter, saying it was a correct summary of work in the white area. It was at this conference that Comrade Shaoqi made a report, summed up experiences and lessons about work in the white area and criticized "leftist" closed-doorism.

A valuable piece of writing was attracting the visitors' attention as a reflection of Comrade Shaoqi's profound and sharp criticism of Wang Ming's "leftist" line. On a blank page in the back part of Wang Ming's work, "Fight for a More Bolshevized Chinese Communist Party," Comrade Liu Shaoqi had written down a long paragraph under the heading of "Impressions After Reading." It was dated 21 September 1943. He wrote: "As far as the line is concerned, there is no strict principled difference in the debate between Wang Ming and company and Li Lisan. Wang Ming's speeches in many respects are more 'leftist' than Li Lisan's." "The struggle at the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee took the form of an unprincipled factional struggle. It was arranged and manipulated by Wang Ming and company. The plenum entirely approved those misguided actions of

Wang Ming and company and used the garb of an international line and the Bolshevik party to practice deception. A party crisis later developed, causing a serious loss to the party and the revolution. In terms of facts and truths, the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee not only did the party no good but was a curse to it." "This booklet contains much information about wicked inner-party struggle.... Marxists must draw on such information to rewrite this chapter of the party's history and draw the conclusion that in the so-called struggle 'against Lian's line,' Wang Ming and company contributed nothing but committed a great crime."

These were the incisive remarks made by great Marxist Comrade Liu Shaoqi in our party's struggle with the "leftist" opportunist line.

Outstanding Contributions Toward Party-Building Theories

A cave in Yanan glittered with light. By the flickering light of an oil lamp, Comrade Shaoqi was writing the draft of "How To Be a Good Communist" with undivided attention, a writing brush in hand. This was a photo taken in the spring of 1939. Comrade Shaoqi was shown in his winter clothes. His draft was displayed alongside this picture. Below it were placed several tens of editions of "How To Be a Good Communist" in various languages. Comrade Shaoqi left us a mine of spiritual wealth in regard to party-building theories.

Now we saw the historical scene of the seventh national party congress. Behind a large photo showing Comrade Mao Zedong reading out political report "On Coalition Government" was another large picture presenting to us the scene of Comrade Liu Shaoqi delivering the "Report on Revising the Party Constitution." In the lengthy report given over 2 days, 14 and 15 May 1945, Comrade Liu Shaoqi made an overall summing-up of our party's organizational line for the first time in the history of our party. He summed up the experiences and lessons since the founding of the party and put forward correct principles and guidelines in building the party.

Here were the drafts of two reports written with a fountain pen. One was the speech delivered on 28 March at the 1951 National Organizational Work Conference. Another was a conclusive report made at this conference on 9 April under the title of "Fight for Higher Standards for Communist Party Members." In this report, Comrade Shaoqi cited many cases to illustrate his point that after the victory in the national revolution, Communist Party members must have higher standards than before. It was written in the draft report: "It is not easy to become a Communist Party member. One must first meet various requirements, make various promises and go through proper education before one can join the party. After being admitted to the party, he must continue to take study and training courses and improve himself in a continuing process of work and struggle. Only in this way can we serve the people better under the leadership of the party." Put near these two drafts was a board on whose surface were written Comrade Shaoqi's words: "We should take energetic and practical

steps to promote the recruitment of party members. It is wrong to take a negative attitude toward recruitment work. It is also wrong to recruit party members freely."

Have the People of the Whole Country in Mind

One exhibit after another told us that close ties existed between Comrade Liu Shaoqi and the masses. He left his footprints everywhere on the grasslands of Nei Monggol, in the forests of the Xingan Mountains, in the countryside of Sichuan and in the pits of the Kailuan coal mine.... He rubbed shoulders with cleaners, coal miners, male and female commune members, children and adolescents, young students, and aged mothers. He asked about their health and talked cordially with them. Uppermost in his mind was the people of the whole country.

A train was running at full speed through the wilderness. Inside an ordinary sleeping car sat Comrade Shaoqi. Around him were a group of smiling people. He was chatting happily with them!

A large passenger car was running on the highway. From the picture, we can see Comrade Zhou Enlai seated in the front and Comrade Liu Shaoqi next to him. Behind them sat Comrade Deng Xiaoping and many other leading comrades of the party Central Committee. They were heading for the work site of the Ming Tombs reservoir to do some work.

A very large picture showed Comrade Liu Shaoqi talking cordially with his people in his hometown in May 1961. He spent 5 days in his hometown and saw the harm of the "five evil practices." One day, in the home of a commune member, he said with feeling: "In the past few years, you have really suffered a great deal. The 'five evil practices' can no longer be ignored. Their harm must be made known to our descendants for all generations to come. Eliminating the 'five evil practices' is the responsibility of the party Central Committee. On my present trip, I must admit to my townsmen the mistakes made. ...The party Central Committee has recently announced the '60 rules.' If organizations at all levels act according to the '60 rules,' we can expect a return to the 1957 level in 3 years!" It was after an investigation on this trip that Comrade Shaoqi as chairman of the state felt guilty about the difficulties brought to his townfolk. In a report at an enlarged work conference of the party Central Committee in 1962, Comrade Liu Shaoqi made a self-criticism about this matter.

Numerous drafts, including articles, speeches, letters, critical remarks, inscriptions, and so forth were Comrade Shaoqi's own efforts. One stroke after another, he wrote down so many words, which were a source of spiritual wealth to the party and the people. What should be specially mentioned here are a large stack of notebooks recording some problems that he pondered after hearing reports, attending meetings or holding talks with the cadre masses. From them, we can see what kept him busy

day and night. In one of the notebooks was the entry: "What is to be done about those households with their needs assured in five respects and those households in difficulties?" In another notebook, it was written: "Fifty-nine kinds of wild plants can be utilized..., acorns, mountain grapes, locust trees and mountain peaches."

In January 1966, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was nearly 70, did not work any the less harder toward his great goal of serving the people. He said to his own folks and those who work with him: "If Marx should allow me another 10 years with which to work with other comrades, China could surely be made still better!"

The One Who Loves the People Is Always Loved by Them

Many people could not keep their tears from spilling over as they stood before the photo of the late Comrade Shaoqi. On an ordinary sickbed lay this great Marxist whose heartbeat had stopped. People read with grief the remarks inscribed at the bottom of the picture.

The people will never forget those who have worked for their good. The last part of the exhibition consisted of selections from several tens of thousands of letters received from the people. The masses of people in their letters demanded rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi and cheered the decision of the fifth plenum of the party Central Committee to do so. One of the letters was noteworthy. It was from a middle school teacher. This teacher had copied the false "criminal evidence" that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" fabricated against Comrade Liu Shaoqi. With a red pencil, he underlined the charges against Comrade Shaoqi, which he refuted one by one. What this teacher did gave expression to the wish of hundreds of millions of people.

An officially stamped document about a reinvestigated case especially aroused people's attention. It told that Zhu Zhengzhong, a teacher of the Shanghai Fuxing Middle School had been ruthlessly persecuted because of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." One of the charges against him was that he believed Comrade Liu Shaoqi to be a good man and an elite Communist Party member. Here was given the confession he made in those days: "I must deny all the so-called crimes with which Comrade Liu Shaoqi has been openly charged in newspapers. I want to refute the charges one by one, doing so in his defense. It has been my consistent belief that Comrade Shaoqi is a good party member and a true representative of the whole body of fine party members."

One who dared to speak the truth died under a hail of bullets let loose by the ultraleftist line. However, the sound of gunfire can never drown the voice of truth.

History is written by the people. Our party has at last corrected its own mistakes in response to the wish of the people. People are thinking: What kind of a lesson should we draw after all from the biggest frameup against Comrade Liu Shaoqi?

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG JOURNAL COMMENTS ON 'RENMIN RIBAO' EDITORIAL ON MAO, LIU

HK031015 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 32 1 Jun 80 p 13

[Article by Chen Ming [7115 2494]: "RENMIN RIBAO's Theory of 'Restoration'"]

[Text] As a sign of the complete rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi, the Chinese communists held a solemn memorial meeting to honor his memory and ordered the whole nation to go into mourning. To mark the occasion, RENMIN RIBAO also published an editorial entitled "Restore the True Qualities of Mao Zedong Thought--On the Rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi."

The editorial stressed: "We have corrected wrongs on a major scale in all fields, including the rehabilitation of large numbers of people falsely charged, including the present rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. All this boils down to upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts, a principle that Comrade Mao Zedong advocated throughout his life. All this is the natural and positive outcome of restoring the true qualities of Mao Zedong Thought." This is very puzzling indeed.

First, as everyone knows, it was Mao Zedong who published the big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," leveled the gun at Liu Shaoqi, mobilized the "Red Guards" and masses to launch a sweeping "Cultural Revolution" by "holding high the great Red banner of Mao Zedong Thought," branded Liu Shaoqi as a "renegade, traitor and scab," which was the biggest of all frameups, and created numerous unjust, false and wrongly sentenced cases. Boiled down to truth, there would not have been such a tragic outcome had Mao Zedong not personally initiated the "Cultural Revolution."

Second, examined in a realistic light, the assertion that "seeking truth from facts is a principle that Comrade Mao Zedong advocated throughout his life" also does not hold water. Even the Chinese communists themselves called the 10-year "Cultural Revolution" initiated by Mao Zedong the "10 years of disasters." This shows that in this period of his life Mao Zedong had obviously betrayed his own principle of "seeking truth from

facts." His "appraisal of the situation inside the party and the country did not tally with reality." He said that "a counterrevolutionary revisionist line existed in the party" and that there was a "so-called bourgeois headquarters headed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi." Mao Zedong regarded himself as infallible and acted arbitrarily. His lawlessness led him to commit serious mistakes, which developed into a stupendous disaster.

Third, it is basic historical materialism to proceed from objective reality to understand things and explore the truth. Of course it is quite appropriate for Mao Zedong to sum this up in the Chinese proverb "seeking truth from facts." If Mao Zedong had not "advocated" the principle of "seeking truth from facts," would the communists who claimed to be believers of historical materialism be unable to "understand" this basic knowledge? It is a violation of the principle of "seeking truth from facts" and a blind act of "personality cult" to describe this principle as something "that Comrade Mao Zedong advocated throughout his life" and to unanalytically eulogize Mao Zedong despite his inconsistencies. This is tantamount to "deifying" Mao Zedong. In those years, Mao Zedong was just like a god. He lorded over the whole party as though he was a "patriarch" and had hundreds at his beck and call. Then he produced the "evidence of crimes" and tried to expel Liu Shaoqi from the party at the 12th plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee, his proposal was "unanimously approved" and hailed as "a great victory of Mao Zedong Thought." This shows how serious were the consequences. Mao Zedong was of course not above mistakes, but can those "god worshippers" who echoed what he said and gave up their principles deny their wrongs? Today, there are still people who continue to "deify" individuals. What are these people up to anyway?

Fourth, of course it is wrong to totally negate Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. The Chinese communists said they have "the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought." Since they call it scientific, they must do away with superstition. They must examine Mao Zedong Thought with historical facts. Through this process, they should be able to see that Mao Zedong Thought has its correct side as well as its erroneous side. The wrongs should be analyzed, criticized and even negated; the rights should be affirmed and even carried forward. The Chinese communists must discard the dross and select the essential, that is, analytically and critically inherit and carry forward Mao Zedong Thought. This is the only correct and scientific way to "hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought."

Fifth, the ambiguous notion of "restoring the true qualities of Mao Zedong Thought" means to restore not only things that are right but also those that are wrong. If you restore this part and he restores that part, sooner or later there will be confusion and conflicts. Maybe someone will even come out to restore the "Cultural Revolution" personally initiated by Mao Zedong and start other "disaster." What a day that would be!

This shows how dangerous is RENMIN RIBAO's general theory of "restoration." It cannot but make people sigh.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' CARRIES LI QIANG ARTICLE ON YE JIZHUANG

HK221101 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Apr 80 p 4

[Article by Li Qiang [2621 1730], Zhou Huamin [0917 0553 3046] and Jia Shi [6328 4258]: "Profoundly Cherish the Memory of Comrade Ye Jizhuang, Outstanding 'Red Housekeeper'"]

[Text] Today, in our advance toward the four modernizations, we still cherish the memory of Comrade Ye Jizhuang. Worried and indignant, Comrade Ye Jizhuang died of illness in 1967 during the troublemaking days of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and left his expectations and battle to the comrades who survived him. After 14 stormy and difficult years, we have finally ushered in a bright, glorious spring and the Chinese people are starting out on a new Long March. The tortuous history has taught the people more about love and hate and also deepened our esteem and longing for Comrade Ye Jizhuang.

Comrade Ye Jizhuang was a long-tested proletarian revolutionary. He was loyal and devoted to the party, modest and sincere to the comrades, amiable and approachable to the masses, steady and prudent in work and had the bearing of a venerable elder. The comrades intimately called him "Old Ye." Everybody respected and admired this "Red housekeeper" of our party and army. We worked directly under Old Ye for 10 to 20 years, and his excellent advice and foresight, his rich experience and particularly his fine ideal of loyalty to the party and to the people and his fine work style profoundly educated us and created an everlasting impression on us. We deeply feel that the most vivid feature of Old Ye was his ability to closely integrate the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat with the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. His whole militant life was one of loyalty and devotion to the revolution and honest and down-to-earth work.

Forty-Two Revolutionary Years of Outstanding Achievements

In 1925, Comrade Ye Jizhuang took part in the general strike of Guangzhou and Hong Kong, joined the Chinese Communist Party and fought for 42 years for the cause of the party. In those difficult years, he ignored his

personal safety and made important contributions to building the people's army and logistic supplies and to the financial and economic work of the base areas.

In the latter part of 1929, the party sent him to Guangxi to take part in building the 7th Army of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army. He worked as a member of the Military Committee, director of the Political Department and chairman of the Financial Committee of the 7th Red Army directly under Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Comrade Zhang Yunyi. He outstandingly fulfilled the tasks handed him by the party, and improved the political level and combat effectiveness of the units. Together with the Military Committee and other comrades, he eliminated the interference of the Li Lisan line, defeated the checking actions of the enemy forces and led part of the 7th Red Army on a circuitous route from Guangxi to Jiangxi to join force with the Central Red Army. He used every means to raise funds and guaranteed army expansion and the needs of the Central Red Army.

In 1934, at the critical moment of the battle against the fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign, Comrade Ye Jizhuang became the director and concurrently the political commissar of the General Supply Department of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army. He set up a supply system in the Red Army suited to actual conditions at that time, held accountant training classes and personally gave lessons to bring up large numbers of rear services work cadres, many of whom later became experts in financial and economic work. He reorganized the munition factories and, under conditions of simple and crude equipment and shortage of materials, mobilized the army men and workers to repair and produce vast quantities of arms in support of the revolutionary war and also enabled the units to be adequately equipped before starting out on the Long March. Comrade Zhou Enlai at that time praised this as an "unprecedented achievement" in the annals of munition factories of the Red Army. Comrade Ye Jizhuang took part in the world-famous Long March and experienced all kinds of hardships and difficulties. He used every means to organize logistic supply for the First Front Army and made important contributions to the success of the Long March.

During the war of resistance against Japan, in response to Comrade Mao Zedong's call "ample food and clothing by working with our own hands," the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region launched a massive movement for production. At that time, Comrade Ye Jizhuang was successively the director of the General Rear Services Department of the 8th Route Army, the director of the Bureau of Materials and the manager of the Trade Corporation of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region. The army men and people in the border region often saw travel-worn Old Ye on a mule or horse galloping over mountains and hills and rushing about to organize the reclamation of wasteland, the exploitation of salt lakes, the setting up of textile, clothing, pharmaceutical and paper-making factories and the development of export trade. As he was good at developing united

front work in rear services work, he cultivated a "friendship" with some military supplies personnel of the Kuomintang and opened up a channel for the movement of money, food and materials from the white areas.

After the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, he went to northeast China where he continued to be in charge of the rear services work of our army and also assisted Comrade Chen Yun in the financial and economic leadership work of the northeast liberated area. Ignoring his heart condition, he actively battled to develop the economy, build up the rear areas and support the frontline, took part in all aspects of logistic supply planning for the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign, the Beijing-Tianjin campaign and the Huaihai campaign and ushered in the birth of new China with realistic and effective work.

When the Ministry of Foreign Trade was set up in 1952, Comrade Ye Jizhuang became its first minister. Later, he was successively vice chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission of the Government Administration Council, deputy director of the Finance and Trade Office of the State Council and assisted Premier Zhou and Vice Premiers Chen Yun and Li Xiannian in financial and economic work. He preserved and carried forward the party's fine tradition of hard work and made great contributions to the work of building up and developing socialist commerce and reviving the national economy. He made positive contributions to building up and developing socialist foreign trade, backing domestic construction and, in coordination with diplomatic activities, supporting the struggle of people of all countries against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The achievements of China's foreign trade are the crystallization of Old Ye's diligent effort and painstaking labor, and we in particular have had profound personal experience in this direction.

Concretely Implement Politics in Economic Work

Comrades who worked under Old Ye all praised his strong organizational concept and overall point of view. He always bore in mind the overall situation in dealing with problems in work and always insisted on placing foreign trade in the service of China's diplomatic line and socialist revolution and socialist construction. He frequently maintained that foreign trade is economic as well as foreign affairs and must adhere to the system of asking for instructions beforehand and submitting reports afterward. He always took the initiative in solving things under his jurisdiction and never reported contradictions to the higher authorities. As for important matters involving principle, he never made the decision himself but always asked the CCP Central Committee and the State Council for instructions.

In the early part of the founding of the People's Republic when the U.S. imperialists launched a war of aggression against Korea and pursued the policy of imposing an "embargo" on China, Old Ye personally took charge

of the rush shipment of an enormous amount of materials held up abroad so as to reduce the economic losses of the state to a minimum. At the same time, to smash the imperialist "embargo," he devoted a great deal of effort and achieved outstanding results in developing trade with capitalist countries and with Afro-Asian countries in particular. One example was the trade talks between China and Ceylon in 1952. At that time because of imperialist "embargo" and manipulation, the price of rubber fell and Ceylon had trouble selling this principal export commodity. At the same time because of a poor harvest the price of rice, which was its principal import, sharply rose. The former Ceylonese Prime Minister Kotelawala said: "This is a life-and-death matter to Ceylon." At that time, China greatly needed rubber for its industrial construction. Premier Zhou personally took up the matter, and with Comrade Ye Jizhuang in direct charge, a 5-year barter agreement for rice and rubber was negotiated and signed between China and Ceylon. In the negotiation, based on the trade policy of equality and mutual benefits and supplying each other's need, the Chinese side with emphasis on developing friendly relations with Ceylon dealt with the question of price ratio between rubber and rice in a fair and sensible manner. This not only provided "timely help" to the Ceylonese economy and the people's livelihood, but also enabled China to obtain by means of barter the rubber needed for its construction. The China-Ceylon trade agreement was a song of victory in the struggle against the "embargo." It sowed seeds of friendship and established a precedent for the development of trade between governments without diplomatic relations. This played a promotional role in establishing trade and diplomatic relations between China and many Afro-Asian countries.

Comrade Ye Jizhuang accompanied Premier Zhou Enlai to the Afro-Asian conference in 1955 and was in charge of discussing and drawing up resolutions on economic problems. He used the opportunity both inside and outside the conference to make extensive contacts with the representatives of various Afro-Asian countries, propagated the importance of strengthening economic cooperation among the various countries and explored the possibility of further developing trade with them. For the sake of implementing the "Bandang spirit," he also led a Chinese trade delegation on a visit to some African countries. During the visit, he conscientiously carried out investigation and study and firmly and yet flexibly implemented our foreign and trade policies based on concrete conditions in various countries. He signed trade agreements with some of the countries, solved trade balance problems formerly thought to be difficult to solve and promoted friendship. With regard to some countries which did not sign trade or payment agreements but adopted the method of an exchange of notes expressing a desire for promoting bilateral trade, he not only maintained the principle and stand of the Chinese side but also promoted friendly relations.

When the Soviet Government tore up their contracts, recalled their specialists and flagrantly exerted pressure on us to repay our debts,

Comrade Ye Jizhuang received instructions to wage a tit-for-tat struggle on behalf of our government against the Soviet side and successfully fulfilled the important task entrusted to him by the party and people. In the early part of the 1960's, our national economy suffered a serious setback for various reasons and great difficulties were experienced in foreign trade and export. Old Ye resolutely implemented the directives of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, mobilized the foreign trade workers, relied on the support of party and government leaders everywhere and people throughout the country, used every means to overcome the difficulties, promote production, organize export and win glory for the country, and scored an outstanding achievement under the premise of repaying our debts to the Soviet Union, importing urgently needed foodstuffs, fertilizer, medicines and light industrial materials and supplying materials for the market. Looking back on it, the moving sight of Old Ye sharing the concerns of the state and the anxieties of the people, forgetting about food and sleep to fulfill the important political task still comes clearly to mind. In those years, ignoring his advanced age and many illnesses, he worked around the clock, personally conducted negotiations and often stayed up late into the night to listen to telephone reports from functionaries stationed in the frontline of production. Later, when he broke down from overwork and had to be hospitalized, he still summoned the comrades concerned to his bedside and exhorted them not to be tardy in affairs concerning the national economy as a whole. One winter, when the people of the whole country were celebrating New Year's Eve, Old Ye was still planning with the comrades concerned on how to conduct negotiations with foreign businessmen and trying to purchase chemical fertilizer and send it to the frontline of production in time for the farming season as quickly as possible. Our Old Ye really worked his heart out for the party and the people.

Solidly Carry Out Work According to Objective Laws

Old Ye was very steady in presiding over work and in grasping policy. Old Ye repeatedly stressed that foreign trade is an integral component of the national economy, and China's foreign trade must conform to basic socialist economic laws and the laws of planned and proportionate development and maintain a suitable proportioned relationship. He repeatedly proposed that in the formulation of a foreign trade plan, we must not only go all out and aim high, but we must also seek truth from facts and be positively reliable. We must combine necessity and possibility in our considerations to insure the feasibility of a plan. It is not slow this way, but actually faster, otherwise, haste will only result in waste.

Comrade Ye Jizhuang had long, practical and deep personal experiences with the policy of "develop the economy and insure supply" put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong. He was extremely concerned about industrial and agricultural production inside the country and stressed that foreign trade must be based on production and must energetically promote the development of production and strengthen ties with production departments

so that products could be suited to the needs of the international market. He taught the foreign trade cadres that they must proceed from production and participate in and help production in accordance with export needs. Everywhere he went, he made a point of acquainting himself with conditions and visiting some of the local production bases. He was extremely interested in everything from the soybean of the north-east to the breeding of fishes, snakes and frogs in Guangdong. In 1960, he summed up his personal experiences and published a special article entitled "Actively Make a Success of Work in Export Commodity Production Bases." He pointed out: The setting up of production bases is an important path and orientation of development for developing export commodity production and organizing export goods sources of great significance to the success of foreign trade work. In order to increase the enthusiasm of rural communes, production teams and commune members for developing a diversified economy, he suggested that premiums be paid to the producers of some high foreign exchange earning agricultural by-products, which was approved by the State Council; he adopted the method of importing raw materials for processing into industrial products in some cases where raw materials were not available domestically to increase export and he gave the necessary economic assistance for the export of industrial and mining products. These policies and measures played an important role in developing export commodity production, increasing export goods sources and guaranteeing the standard and quality of the commodities. At the same time, they also helped industrial and agricultural production and the domestic market and benefited the state, the collectives and the masses.

Comrade Ye Jizhuang also attached great importance to the correct handling of relations between domestic and foreign sales. Under his charge, the foreign trade departments conscientiously implemented the spirit of the directives of the relevant departments of the CCP Central Committee and actively organized exports and imports in a planned manner on the principle of overall planning and taking all factors into consideration and making proper arrangements based on the demands of state economic construction and foreign policy, according to necessity and possibility. Old Ye stressed that when drawing up plans for foreign trade, we not only must consider the immediate needs of the people but must also pay attention to their long-term interests. He pointed out that outwardly exports reduce the total amount of materials inside the country, but the imported materials in exchange for exports also increase the total amount of materials inside the country, and some of the imports are raw materials used for production and materials for supplying the market which will increase the amount of commodities supplied to the domestic market. He constantly stressed that we must conscientiously implement Comrade Zhou Enlai's directive on "Respecting Contracts and Keeping Promises." After a plan has been affirmed and especially once a foreign contract has been signed, apart from circumstances beyond our control, we must not arbitrarily cancel any contract because this matter concerns not only the trustworthiness of the foreign trade departments but also that of the state.

In foreign trade imports and exports, Old Ye always implemented the policy of "determining imports by the amount of exports, balancing imports and exports, being positively reliable and leaving some leeway," and used foreign exchange to guarantee key projects and for general subsidies. He constantly said: "Do what you can with the money you have" and "be certain of where the rocks are in crossing the river." Old Ye attached great importance to the investigation and study of the international market and the world economy and was able to thoroughly analyze and accurately see the trend of international currency and finance and to promptly take countermeasures. In the more than 10 years as minister of foreign trade, he always kept a tight check on foreign exchange and balance of payments and would look up the comrades in charge every other day for a talk. When devaluation in foreign currency or problems in balance of payments appeared he would keep a daily check and constantly tried to figure how to increase exports and how to put the foreign exchange earned with the toil of the people to the best possible use.

In 1962 during the period of temporary economic difficulty in the national economy, Old Ye actively supported and implemented the policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving," closely assisted Comrades Chen Yun and Li Xiannan, put the economic law to use and produced some excellent ideas on invigorating the market and reviving the economy. When high quality sweets and pastries processed from imported grain and sugar were placed on the market, Old Ye personally went to the shops in the street to study how they were moving and to listen to comments.

Today in carrying out modernization, how we need a large number of such earnest and down-to-earth revolutionaries like Comrade Ye Jizhuang and how we must emulate and carry forward his fine work style of seeking truth from facts and carrying out work according to objective laws.

Pay Attention To Mastering the Scientific Method of Work

Old Ye constantly taught the cadres that they must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and become Red and expert and put the stress on mastering the scientific method of work advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong [words illegible] special report to the cadres of the Foreign Trade Ministry entitled "On Problems of Method of Thinking and Method of Work." His verbal instruction and personal example created a deep impression on us.

He was good at grasping the principal contradiction and would firmly grasp a major issue to the end without letting go. At the same time, he also paid attention to promptly solving concrete problems of a key nature, not permitting them to develop into major issues. Old Ye attached great importance to summing up practical experiences and would personally sum up the creative experiences of the masses, raising them from theory to the plane of policy. He boldly allowed the comrades under him to carry out their work, politically and vocationally showed concern for the

training of cadres, always explained the task in detail when assigning work and also provided concrete guidance and help in the work. He paid great attention to results in holding meetings, writing documents and carrying out work, and disliked empty talks and formalism. He repeatedly stressed: Do not hold meetings that are not essential, do not write documents that are not essential, do not attend meetings unless necessary and do not hold meetings without preparation. As an outstanding commander on the financial and economic front, Old Ye also possessed two outstanding features.

1. He had "a good idea of things." He attached great importance to quantitative analysis in economic activities and studied statistical reports daily no matter how busy the work or how late the hour and would not go to bed until he had read through them. He was very accurate on important figures and very careful with accounts. He had an intimate knowledge of the number of suits that could be cut from a bolt of cloth and the conversion rates of different currencies. He always said to the comrades: Figures are very important in economic work for they reflect the developmental process and the nature of things. The leading comrades of the Central Committee in charge of financial and economic work sometimes have to rely on the figures we supply to decide on policies and take action; therefore, we cannot be careless. He always asked the leading cadres for figures and disliked such answers as "approximately," "probably" or "roughly." When the figures in the reports of the cadres were not accurate, he would correct them. Therefore at meetings he presided over, the cadres had to make careful preparations beforehand to avoid not passing the "test" given by Old Ye.

2. He was "resourceful and decisive." Although Old Ye had great experience in financial work and could be called an expert, he was nevertheless always modest and prudent. He normally assiduously studied the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, delved into the study of economic theory and vocational knowledge, systematically acquainted himself and studied conditions both at home and abroad, and paid close attention to new trends and problems. In dealing with important matters, he never subjectively made assumptions but always carefully conducted investigations and study beforehand, conscientiously listened to views from all quarters, particularly to dissenting ones, and would only arrive at a decision after long deliberation. He said: If a proposal is unanimously accepted by one and all the moment it has been brought up, there is a possibility it may contain mistakes. Even though it may be basically or completely correct at the time of decision, we must still consider whether there are any side effects and whether these side effects can be avoided or reduced. Old Ye never lightly expressed an opinion without thoroughly considering the problem, and when he did, it was always comprehensive and to the point.

Precisely because Old Ye was so conscientious, solid and steady in work and so knowledgeable and perceptive, the cadres of the financial and

economic system all admired him. The leading comrades of the Central Committee also regarded him highly and trusted him. In dealing with and deciding on important financial and economic matters, Comrade Zhou Enlai always asked the views of Old Ye first. During the 3 years of temporary difficulty when Comrade Chen Yun was in charge of financial and economic work, he always consulted Old Ye on matters of vital importance. Comrade Li Xiannian said: My heart is at ease signing documents ready by Old Ye.

The proletarian feeling between Old Ye and Comrade Zhou Enlai was very profound. During the Afro-Asian conference in 1954, Old Ye personally arranged and took part in the security work for protecting Comrade Zhou Enlai. As Comrade Zhou Enlai often worked late into the night, Old Ye time and again requested that if Comrade Zhou Enlai wanted him they must wake him up no matter how late the hour. However, for the sake of not disturbing Old Ye's rest, Comrade Zhou Enlai never allowed anyone to disturb him but instructed the comrades concerned to report conditions to him the following morning and obtain his view.

Comrade Ye Jizhuang devoted his heart and soul to the party and people but was very simple in his eating and living habits. He was strict in carrying out financial and economic discipline and a fine example of wholehearted devotion to public duty. He never took advantage of his position and power in finance, economy and foreign affairs to obtain special privileges. He would immediately top and criticize anyone giving him special attention. In strict accordance with the rules, he also handed the gifts given him by foreign visitors over to the state. In the same manner he saved every penny for the revolutionary war in the past. He also tried to save every penny for socialist construction. He struggled for scores of years and made many contributions to the party and people but asked very little in return.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed an ultraleft line, usurped party and state power and frenziedly framed and ruthlessly attacked the old revolutionary cadres. Comrade Ye Jizhuang saw the dark clouds rolling over the sky of China, he was filled with worry and indignation and there was much he wanted to say. He picked up his pen and wrote a letter to Comrade Mao Zedong unburdening his aspiration of struggling for the truth. Some people learned that Old Ye had worked in the Red 7th Army under Comrade Deng Xiaoping in the past and called on him on three occasions to "investigate and verify" the "problems" they used to frame Comrade Deng Xiaoping but Old Ye stood up against them every time. Old Ye was like that and he upheld the revolution and the truth and fought on to the end.

After the death of Comrade Ye Jizhuang, leading comrades of the Central Committee including Zhou Enlai, Li Fuchuan, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian attended a memorial service held for him. When our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou arrived and could not find the visitor's book and saw that some of the arrangements and decorations were unsatisfactory,

he was very angry. Before and after the service he talked for more than an hour to the comrades present about Comrade Ye Jizhuang's revolutionary deeds and his great contributions to army building, rear services, foreign trade and foreign aid, and called on one and all to emulate him and properly carry on his work. Comrade Zhou Enlai also said: Each time the Central Committee handed Comrade Ye Jizhuang a task, he always pondered it over repeatedly and accomplished it well. This comment filled with deep feeling made by Comrade Zhou Enlai was a fine tribute to Comrade Ye Jizhuang.

Our best way of cherishing the memory of Comrade Ye Jizhuang is to study his proletarian revolutionary spirit and scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, emulate his loyalty and devotion to the party, the revolution and the people, work in a solid and down-to-earth manner, treasure stability and unity, realize the Central Committee's directive that there must be a major development in foreign trade and make more contributions to speeding up the four modernizations.

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PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG MAGAZINE ON XU SHIYOU, WANG DONGXING

HK021120 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 32, 1 Jun 80 pp 5-8

[Article by Lo Ping: "The Recent Situation of Xu Shiyu and Wang Dongxing"]

[Text] People from Hong Kong who go to Beijing to gather news are themselves usually sought after by interviewers.

"Is it very difficult to live in Hong Kong?"

"Are the articles in Beijing newspapers on the difficulties of earning a living in Hong Kong exaggerated?"

"What is the latest news in Hong Kong?"

One is bombarded with questions. The position of interviewer and interviewee is reversed.

"News" About the Son of Deng Xiaoping

Recently, while talking to some intellectuals, I happened to mention some news about Deng Zhifang, son of Deng Xiaoping, which I learned from a letter from Hong Kong. This aroused great interest among them. This was because what I told them confirmed what they learned from "hearsay."

What was the "news" about this youngest son of Deng Xiaoping? It was said that Chiang Ching-kuo's people tried to instigate him to defect or to "forsake darkness for light" and go over to Taiwan.

Deng Xiaoping's youngest son went to America to study in January this year. He is studying at the University of Rochester in Rochester, New York.

After Deng Zhifang arrived in the United States, although he has devoted all his attention to his studies, the Taiwan people never stopped bothering him in different ways. Recently, a fellow surnamed Zeng claiming to

be the "chairman of the China Correspondence School Alumni Association in the Great Britain area" published an "open letter" talking about defection. The letter also offered a free plane ticket to Deng Zhifang for him to go to Taiwan after obtaining "political asylum" from the American authorities.

"Shoot Out Between Xu Shiyou and Deng Xiaoping"

Actually, this trick of the Taiwan people is not surprising. For more than 3 years, the target of attack of the Taiwan propaganda machinery has been Deng Xiaoping. They have calculated that among the highest ranking officials in the CCP hierarchy, Deng Xiaoping has the most authority. Of course, this calculation is accurate. Lately, the Taiwan side fabricated an "internal speech of Chen Yun" projecting an image of great disunity within the highest echelon of the CCP. Later, the English language CHINA POST in Taipei carried a news item saying that Xu Shiyou shot at Deng Xiaoping. All these are directed against Deng Xiaoping.

Deng Xiaoping is not only caught in the crossfire of the attacks of the Taiwan propaganda machinery, he is also the No 1 target of attack of the remnants of the "gang of four" in the mainland. According to reports, a report filed by foreign news agencies from Beijing on the differences of opinion between Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping also originated from "gang of four" elements.

Conflict Between Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping

The latest "evidence" of the alleged differences between Hua and Deng was the speech of Hua Guofeng at the All-Army Political Work Conference on 29 April. The sources of this news said that Hua Guofeng attacked the bonus system and that system is an important component part of Deng Xiaoping's economic policy. Actually, this kind of statement is groundless. Hua Guofeng's original words on material incentives were: "We are still in the socialist period and still implementing the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.'" Although attention should be paid to the positive role of material reward, efforts should still be made to combine material rewards with moral encouragement. While working with material rewards, we should not ignore moral encouragement or political-ideological work... If we depart from raising people's ideological consciousness and one-sidedly emphasize the economic means, blindly pursue material reward and slacken political-ideological work, then the results will definitely be rather poor."

And not long ago (16 January), Deng Xiaoping also talked about the question of material rewards and education in his report on "The Current Situation and Tasks." He said: "The trend of indiscriminate payment of bonuses 'improved' the life of a few, but it imposed many more difficulties on the people of the whole country... Hence, we must again conduct education for the cadres and masses. We are a poor and large country and

we must struggle hard to improve our situation. Gradual improvement of the people's living standards and increases in their incomes must be made on the basis of developing production while insuring more pay for more work. It is also necessary to take care of the whole country and to take care of those around us. We must work at a steady pace in solving this problem. We must do very well in providing guidance for the masses, and we must absolutely not make promises and arouse the masses in an irresponsible way." It can be seen that although they used different words, the spirit of their speeches was the same. How can they fight over a question on which they have the same views? Undoubtedly, people always have differences in their thinking. Deng Xiaoping is more open-minded while in the past Hua Guofeng was not open-minded enough. However, in the past couple of years, their differences have been gradually reduced. They have come to agree more easily on many problems. If rumors choose to play on the question of their viewpoints on bonuses, they will surely be shortlived. If they are saying that Hua Guofeng is "challenging" Deng Xiaoping, then that would be pure nonsense growing out of their own wishful thinking. Deng Xiaoping's present positions in the party, the government and the army is unshakable.

Xu Shiyou--A Puzzle

To spread propaganda on a "shoot out between Xu and Deng" is of course more credible than propaganda on "conflict between Hua and Deng." The reason is Xu Shiyou has not been appearing in occasions which he should or he could be making appearances. For instance, in the namelists of those present in the All-Army Political Work Conference (18 to 30 April) and the memorial meeting for Liu Shaoqi, the name of Xu Shiyou was nowhere to be found. (Xu Shiyou once served in the new Fourth Army and Liu Shaoqi was then the political commissar of the new Fourth Army.) This is rather surprising. However, a few days after the news about the "shoot out between Xu and Deng" came out, Xu Shiyou showed up in Nanjing. XINHUA news agency reported that he was in Nanjing participating in the activities celebrating May Day. An American diplomat mentioned the question of Xu Shiyou to a Chinese Foreign Ministry official at a reception in Beijing and the answer given to him indirectly disproved the rumor about the "shoot out." Although Xu Shiyou did not attend Liu Shaoqi's memorial meeting, he was listed among the members of the funeral committee for Liu Shaoqi when the namelist was published on 15 May. From this, we can be sure that Xu Shiyou has not been purged.

The Truth of the Matter

However, some people in Beijing are still puzzled by the recent situation of Xu Shiyou, although they knew nothing about the rumors on the "Xu-Deng shoot out" circulating overseas.

After a few rounds of news-gathering, the matter is now clear.

First, Xu Shiyou was forced to leave Guangdong and his position as the commander of the Guangzhou PLA units.

Second, Xu Shiyou is not in good health and his condition is presently under observation. He went to Nanjing to recuperate.

Third, Xu Shiyou does not hold real power at present.

Another unconfirmed report says that: On the eve of the 5th plenum of the 11th party Central Committee, Xu Shiyou, who had already left the post of commander of the Guangzhou PLA units then, went to the "Chairman Mao Memorial Hall" by himself to "wail before the bier." Many people in Beijing know that Xu Shiyou, who had performed great feats in the struggle against the "gang of four," has a sense of blind loyalty toward Mao Zedong. When Mao died, he wore a pair of straw sandals with white shoestrings which were really eye-catching.

If there is any truth in Xu's "wailing before the bier," then that means he is full of grievances and is suffering from political illness. But then, allow me to repeat: This report is unconfirmed.

Will Xu Revolt Against Deng Xiaoping?

If some people think that Xu Shiyou will take action to revolt against Deng Xiaoping, they are very wrong.

Friends in Beijing put forth the following analysis: Nanjing is the "second home" of Xu Shiyou. He had worked there for nearly 20 years. If Xu Shiyou had really harbored the thought of rebellion, he would not have been allowed to recuperate in Nanjing. The incumbent commander of the Nanjing Military Region Nie Fengzhi has a former subordinate of Xu. The former first political commissar of the Nanjing units was Liao Hansheng. He has recently been transferred to the position of first political commissar of the Shenyang units. (The former first political commissar of the Shenyang units Gan Weihai is now the deputy director of the General Political Department.) His post was taken over by Guo Linxiang, former political commissar of the Urumqi units.

This analysis seems to be quite accurate.

By the way, Ye Jianying also did not attend Liu Shaoqi's memorial meeting. He went to Guangdong to recuperate from an illness long before May Day.

Wang Dongxing Unable To Go to Guangdong

The weather is good in Guangdong, so it is a good place to recuperate. However, there are some people who want to come to Guangdong to take up a position, but not because of the fine weather in southern Guangdong. Among them is Wang Dongxing.

Wang Dongxing has been quite dispirited since he lost his high position as the vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee. After the fifth plenum concluded and before Xi Zhongxun left Beijing, Wang Dongxing had approached Xi and told him he wanted to work in Guangdong. Xi Zhongxun tactfully refused. He told Wang that Guangdong is such a small place. It has no place for Wang. Many Chinese living in Hong Kong do not have a good impression of Wang. If Wang really goes to Guangdong, not only the Guangdong people, even the Hong Kong compatriots will be displeased. Therefore, I believe Xi Zhongxun's decision to refuse Wang Dongxing is a welcome one.

Wang as Vice Governor of Jiangxi

Friends in Beijing also told me that Wang Dongxing's taking a position in Guangdong is really out of the question. "Wang persecuted Yang Shangkun in the past and he rose to the top by trampling on Yang Shangkun. How could he work in Guangdong?"

Another report says that Wang Dongxing plans to go to Jiangxi to take up the post of vice governor. My friends said: "This could also be Wang Dongxing's own wishful thinking. Jiangxi is Wang's 'old den.' Why would the Central Committee 'let the tiger return to the mountain'? It has been reported that the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee has said that Jiangxi would like to uncover remnants of the 'gang of four.' The implication of such a remark needs no explanation."

Ji Dengkui Unable To Return to Henan

The other "members" of the junior "gang of four" did not have much luck either. Ji Dengkui also looked up Duan Junyi, first secretary of the Henan Provincial CCP Committee, to indicate his desire to work in Henan. Duan Junyi said he is welcome except that he could not guarantee Ji's safety. During the Cultural Revolution, Ji Dengkui vigorously enforced factionalism in Henan and was the root cause of the waves of "beating, smashing and looting" in Henan Province. This has aroused popular indignation. My friends told me that the method of "attacking with reasoning and defending with force" was actually proposed by Ji Dengkui in 1967 when he made a report to Jiang Qing. Jiang Qing appreciated this method very much. That was how Ji achieved a phenomenal rise in the political hierarchy and that marked the beginning of widespread violence. Undoubtedly, this is one of the crimes Ji Dengkui has committed. If he goes back to Henan, it would be very hard to convince the masses in the province to forgive him.

Wu De and Chen Xilian "Unable To Move"

Wu De knows his own limitations more or less, so he dared not move nor ask to be transferred to this or that place. Chen Xilian also did not ask to go back to the PLA. He also could not go to the localities. He does not know the work in the localities and none of the PLA units and localities has indicated that they would accept him.

The situation of the junior "gang of four" at present is: They are like "cat dung on the altar." Nobody wants them. So, they have to hang around in Beijing and wait for an assignment. Because they are still members of the CCP Central Committee, they participated in the memorial meeting of Liu Shaoqi.

Before Wu Lengxi Came to Guangdong

Wang Dongxing who hailed from Jiangxi could not come to Guangdong (until now) but another Jiangxi man Wu Lengxi, who was formerly known as the "intellectual adviser" of Wang Dongxing, has come to Guangdong. Since the founding of the People's Republic, Wu Lengxi, who was the deputy director of the propaganda department of the Central South Bureau of the CCP Central Committee during the period of the war of liberation, has always been a "Beijing official."

In 1949, Wu Lengxi took up the post of deputy director of XINHUA news agency (main office).

From 1952 on, he was the director of XINHUA news agency.

In 1958, he took over the post of Deng Tuo as editor in chief of RENMIN RIBAO. Later, he became the deputy director of the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee and chairman of the Chinese Journalists Association.

When the Cultural Revolution began, Wu Lengxi was labeled a "counterrevolutionary element," stripped of his official positions and locked up in a "cowshed."

In 1972, Wu Lengxi was rehabilitated and he worked with the RENMIN RIBAO.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," Wu Lengxi was promoted. He became the deputy director of the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee.

At that time, Wu Lengxi, Hu Sheng and Xiong Fu (incumbent editor in chief of HONGQI) were considered to be the chief lieutenants of the "whateverists" who supported Wang Dongxing. They were against the viewpoint of "practice is the sole criterion of truth." It was alleged that when RENMIN RIBAO reprinted the GUANMING RIBAO article entitled "Practice Is the Sole Criterion of Truth" in May 1978, Wu Lengxi called on Hu Jiwei, the editor in chief of RENMIN RIBAO, and demanded an explanation on why he printed that article. They held that the article was "theoretically wrong, politically harmful and reactionary and essentially tantamount to 'chopping down the banner.'" Later, after the political downfall of the "whateverists," nobody paid much attention to Wu Lengxi.

However, early last year, there was again "news" about Wu Lengxi. On 18 January, Wu Lengxi made a self-criticism in the central meeting to discuss theories and principles. A number of participants in the meeting jointly signed a petition to reorganize the editorial department of HONGQI and the editorial committee for the selected works of Mao Zedong. Wu Lengxi also signed the petition. This could have been the turning point of Wu Lengxi in realizing that "the present is and the past was wrong."

Remarks of Deng Xiaoping to Wu Lengxi

Wu Lengxi went to Guangdong to assume the post of secretary of the provincial CCP committee and has been put in charge of propaganda, culture and education. He took up the post vacated by Wu Nansheng who has been put in charge of the Guangdong special district. This is the first time Wu Lengxi has been a "local official" in 30 years.

Before Wu left Beijing, Deng Xiaoping talked to him. Deng told Wu:

You were not with the "gang of four." The Central Committee knows this. But you made serious mistakes at the critical moment of a turning point in the Chinese revolution. You have been working at the central level for a long time and you lack experience in local work. You must do your job well this time.

Hu Yaobang also talked to Wu Lengxi. He said:

Your question and those of Xiong Fu and Hu Sheng belong to the past. You were not with the "gang of four" but you all made mistakes. When you go to the localities you can do your work boldly and with a free hand, and make contributions to the four modernizations.

Wu's Self-Criticism Won the Hearts of the Cadres

Friends in Beijing told me that the showing of Wu Lengxi after he arrived in Guangdong was good. In mid-April, he formally took over responsibilities from Wu Nansheng. During a meeting of some cadres of the propaganda, culture and education front called by the provincial CCP committee, Wu Nansheng introduced Wu Lengxi to the Guangdong cadres. Wu Lengxi made a self-criticism in the meeting. His attitude was sincere, he had a profound understanding of his mistakes and he was in good spirits. For that reason, the Guangdong cadres were satisfied. To use journalist jargon: There was favorable feedback.

In this author's article in the April 1979 issue of CHENG MING entitled "The 5 April Movement and the 'Whateverists,'" I made the following remark when talking about Wu Lengxi: "It is hoped that all those belonging to the 'whateverist' group will come to realize that the present is correct and the past was wrong. Of particular importance is their introspection on their own ideological and political line and their doing away with the 'two whatevers.'" Now, we hope that Wu Lengxi will emancipate his mind, seek truth from facts and make new contributions to the cause of the people.

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON 'RECRUITING DESERTERS, TRAITORS'

HK250742 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 80 p 5

[Article by Ren Bing [0117 3521]: "Distinctions in 'Recruiting Deserters and Traitors'"]

[Excerpts] The crime of "recruiting deserters and traitors" was regarded as a major content of the "counterrevolutionary revisionist line," and was highly fashionable during the 10 years of chaos. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used it as a stick and brandished it all over the place, waving it at the state chairman above and the basic level leaders below; so many innocent comrades had a taste of this stick. For a time, the whole country whipped up a wind of "dragging out traitors." Innumerable shocking miscarriages of justice were created and a chaotic situation of "traitors and special agents everywhere" was caused. This brought extremely grave and evil consequences to our party's cause.

As a result of 3 years of turning chaos to order since the smashing of the "gang of four," the great majority of comrades who were beaten with this stick have been rehabilitated. However, the pernicious influence of the theory of "recruiting deserters and traitors" has by no means been completely eliminated. Its devilish shadow is still swaying by the side of certain comrades, and it is still today hindering to some extent the implementation of the party policies on cadres, the united front, and intellectuals.

"Recruiting deserters and traitors" originally meant a policy of disintegrating the opposition and thus strengthening one's own side, and it has been an effective method in the struggle against the enemy. This kind of thing has happened over and over again in ancient and modern history in China and in other countries.

The struggle between proletarian revolution and the exploiting classes, although different in nature, similarly requires active work to disintegrate the enemy. In the early period of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union many Red Army officers were won over from the whites, including the many who later became famous Red Army generals, and they made

contributions to establishing and defending the Soviet regime. There have also been numerous similar examples in the history of revolutionary struggle in China. For instance in the revolutionary war, the peaceful liberation of Beijing, Changsha and other cities could not have been accomplished without winning over Mr Fu Zuoyi and Mr Cheng Qian. Many meritorious generals in the liberation army had also been won over from the Kuomintang army. The series of policies laid down by our party in this respect have all been proven by practice to be correct proletarian policies. It was precisely by relying on these policies that we were able to isolate the enemy to the maximum, strengthen the revolutionary forces and win victory in the revolution.

In the revolutionary struggle led by the proletariat, "recruiting deserters and traitors" has consistently been a revolutionary policy carried out by the party. Putting this policy into effect is an expression of confidence in our own cause and strength. The proletariat has the task of liberating the whole of mankind and finally eliminating all classes. The proletarian ruling party always does its best to remold exploiting-class elements into laborers who eat the fruits of their labor, and not only seeks to recruit unfilial sons and turncoat officials in the exploiting-class camp but also to appoint to important posts those of them with ability and integrity. It is ridiculous to describe the employment of cadres and intellectuals from exploiting-class backgrounds as "recruiting deserters and traitors." Cadres from exploiting-class backgrounds are certainly not exploiting-class elements themselves; intellectuals have now become a part of the working class. If we still ostracize and discriminate against them, we can only harm the revolutionary cause.

We must further turn chaos to order on the question of "recruiting deserters and traitors," in order to fundamentally solve the problem of "lingering fear" caused by this issue, and insure the further implementation of party policies.

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PARTY AND STATE

GUANGDONG YOUTHS OPPOSE BAN ON BIG-CHARACTER POSTERS

HK041031 Hong Kong CHISHIH NIENTAI in Chinese No 125, 2 Jun 80 pp 54-56

[Special report by Ge Tian, reporter of Guangzhou's nongovernmental journal RENMIN ZHI LU [THE PEOPLE'S ROAD]: "A Forum of Guangdong Youths on the Fifth Plenum"]

[Excerpts] The Guangdong Provincial CYL Committee held a forum on the communique of the fifth plenum of the CCP Central Committee on 4 April. Those who were invited to the forum were: Li Zhengtian, Chen Yiyang and Wang Xizhe, authors of the Li Yizhe big-character poster; representatives of the students of the Zhongshan University, Huanan Engineering Institute and Huanan Teachers College; comrades of the editorial departments of the four nongovernmental journals, namely, RENMIN ZHI SHENG [THE PEOPLE'S VOICE], SHENGHUO [LIFE], LANGHUA [SPRAY] and RENMIN ZHI LU; cadres of the Ocean Shipping Bureau; and reporters of the ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO. During the forum, the participants spoke glowingly of the fifth plenum's communique and various issues. The following is a report on the speeches delivered at the forum. Due to our conditions and level, the following transcripts of talks are not complete. We hope the reader will excuse us.

Teacher Xu X X From the Zhongshan University:

Generally speaking, our students cannot figure out any reason for abolishing the "four greats" [speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters] and are discontented with their abolition. They hold that if the "four greats" are abolished, it will be impossible to make suggestions. Is it true that the central authorities are afraid of criticisms? Is it true that they cannot tolerate a few suggestions?

Liu Guokai (RENMIN ZHI ZHENG):

Our workers generally feel that with the abolition of the "four greats," there is no other method of supervise those bureaucrats. They dare not mail their joint letter on exposing their factory's serious bureaucratic phenomena. This is because no one believes that such a letter will produce any effect.

Student Cai X X From the Department of Chinese Language and Literature of the Zhongshan University:

Some people said: Those comrades who supported the abolition of the "four greats" at the meeting of the central authorities are probably those people who had been lashed by big-character posters in the past. If the meeting had been attended by ordinary people, there would not have been any mention of this issue. No participant in our student meetings has supported the abolition of the "four greats." Since there are laws, where is the harm in having the "four greats"? Anyone who uses big-character posters to cook up a story and spread it around or slander others can surely be punished according to law.

A Representative of the Huanan Engineering Institute's Student Association:

Our students' faith in the party vacillated recently. Some students called for making a rational explanatory statement on the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi. Some students said that all these things were the result of a power struggle. They said they do not understand the handling of the four people [Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Wu De and Chen Xilian]. They said: In the past, we said that Wang Dongxing contributed to opposing the "gang of four." We now say that he made mistakes in opposing the "gang of four." How do we account for this? Some students do not understand the statement on rehabilitating Liu Shaoqi, saying: Removing Liu from power was the major aim of Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution. And now it is said that Liu's rehabilitation is aimed at restoring the true features of Mao Zedong Thought.

Most students have expressed disagreement with the abolishment of the "four greats," saying: Democracy is weak in our country, but the "four greats" can play their proper roles. Why is it that we are now not allowed to use the "four greats" as our weapons to counter bureaucracy? The 5 April movement was also carried out in the form of the "four greats" and played a proper role in struggling against the "gang of four." However, now it is said that the "four greats" never played a positive role.

Students from Shaoguan, Zhanjiang and Meixian reported that the trend of dividing the fields and working alone in the rural areas there is very serious. They said: Perhaps the central authorities should spend more time studying social problems. If this trend spreads unchecked, problems will emerge and the images of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou will be impaired.

A Representative of the Students of Huanan Teachers College:

None of the students in our college can figure out the reason for abolishing the "four greats." Since big-character posters have now been abolished, what other method is there for us to express our opinions? In the past, students could use big-character posters to reflect problems.

Now they dare not write big-character posters. Our fellow students said: The party should correctly guide us to apply big-character posters and should not abolish them.

With regard to the issue of Liu Shaoqi, some fellow students said that it is a matter of "new emperors replacing their ministers." Some said that the central authorities' announcements avoided mentioning various major issues such as the Lushan meeting, the movement against the three evils and the movement against the five evils. Did Premier Zhou and Deng Xiaoping not put up their hands to consent to them?

A Secretary of the CYL Branch of the Ocean Shipping Bureau:

As a secretary of the CYL branch of the bureau's Association for Young People's Ideological Education, I would like to express my view on the "four greats." Since we communists are fearless and dauntless, why is it that we are afraid of big-character posters? I do not understand the handling of the four people. Why is it that their mistakes are not made known to the public? Did Wang not render outstanding service? What is the reason for this handling of him now? If he made mistakes, his mistakes should be made known to the public. Some young people said: The Communist Party always follows this rule: Whoever wields power is the one who dominates everything. Lastly, I propose that young people should be organized to study books on self-cultivation.

Li Min (LANGHUA):

Liu Shaoqi was rehabilitated as was expected. Many articles on eulogizing Liu Shaoqi have appeared in newspapers and journals. It seems that this is another movement to create a god. Giving publicity to the issue of Liu Shaoqi in this way seems to imply that the Cultural Revolution pioneered by Chairman Mao was aimed at overthrowing Liu and that it was a matter of power. I think that the issue was not that simple. It seems to me that there is a need for a whole theoretical system to settle the issue of Liu.

I am not a fanatical follower of the four great democratic freedoms. I have neither a good opinion of them nor a bad feeling for them. However, I think big-character posters are still useful to the masses of people in our socialist society.

Wang Xizhe:

People of the whatever faction should not be removed from power. They should be allowed to make statements and speeches. Why is it that they are not allowed to explain their position and talk about their problems?

With regard to the issue of Liu Shaoqi, although they surrendered to the enemy to get their release from the enemy prison in accordance with the

party's decision, the party did not ask them to make an anticommunist statement. I cannot express agreement with many speeches he made.

With regard to the abolition of the "four greats," I think that Deng Xiaoping does not respect the constitution. In his talk with foreigners held in 1978, Deng said: The masses have the right to put up their big-character posters. This is their constitutional power. We have no right to oppose it. This kind of respectful attitude toward the constitution is very good. But how could he say a year later that the "four greats" have never played a positive role?

Big-character posters have been abolished now, but the people's ability to freely master and apply the form of democracy has not been perfected yet. Therefore, the people have fewer democratic rights. Nongovernmental journals should be allowed to exist.

Li Zhengtian:

I propose that prior to having the NPC discuss the abolition of the "four greats," our leaders should try to have the NPC discuss a new publication law first. Every society must have some way of reflecting public feeling. To embody democracy in our society, it is imperative to have publication law.

Comrade Lai Jihuang, Host at the Forum and Director of the Propaganda Department of the Provincial CYL Committee, Said Finally:

Participants in this forum have talked a lot about issues concerning the "four greats." The abolition of the "four greats" is now only a proposal which has been submitted to the NPC for approval. It is not yet a decree. Everyone can still express their view on it.

The central authorities' handling of the four people is secure and safe. Since they no longer deserve such posts, they certainly should step down. Their participation in the evil deeds done by the "gang of four" in the past was not under the duress of the "gang of four." All the four people made self-criticisms at the fifth plenum of the CCP Central Committee. Wang Dongxing made the poorest self-criticism and basically did not admit his mistakes. Chen Xilian made a relatively good self-criticism. When the central authorities proposed that Wang be sent back to Guangdong, secretary Xi said that this was out of the question, that he was afraid that he would not be able to keep Wang under control in Guangdong and that Wang might slip into Hong Kong after arriving in Guangdong. When the central authorities proposed that Ji be sent back to Henan, Henan Provincial CCP Committee secretaries said: It is all right for him to come back. However, we cannot guarantee his personal safety. This is because he has earned the bitter hatred of the people.

Finally, I would like to make two suggestions: 1) I hope that everyone will view the situation from a historical point of view. We must not break away from the history of the "gang of four" to view problems. We must have a developing viewpoint. There has been a great development in the past 2 years. We must not only see the partial but must also see the overall situation. 2) It is true that quite a few questions are being raised including the question of how to view our party's problems. Our comrades have said that they worry very much about various problems such as the occupation of the most senior posts by people of the whatever faction, the lifelong cadre appointment system and the selection and promotion of capable youths. I think that the party Central Committee is also thinking of these problems and is paying great attention to solving them. Judging from these great changes, we should have faith in the party. Of course, there is a need for improving party leadership. Overall, the convocation of the fifth plenum of the CCP Central Committee is an inspiration to us. We should wholeheartedly promote the four modernizations and should not indulge in any other idea.

A deputy secretary of the provincial CYL committee also spoke at the forum. The provincial CYL committee consented to holding another theoretical forum around 4 May. The participants reached a decision on discussing Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech and China's legal system at the next forum.

CSO: 4003

PARTY AND STATE

'BEIJING RIMAO' CALLS ON YOUTH TO ACT TO REALIZE THEIR IDEAL

HK020916 Beijing BEIJING RIMAO in Chinese 22 May 80 p 1

[Article by Ma Meili [7456 3780 7787]: "Act To Fulfill Our Ideal"]

[Text] After the downfall of the "gang of four," I have heard some young comrades review their experiences during the decade of catastrophe. They said: "Our ideals have been shattered one by one." "Our hopes have fallen into the gutter and can never fly again." "The lofty images have collapsed like tall buildings, leaving heaps of debris behind." Being downcast, some young people were bent on seeking easy jobs, handsome bonuses and comfortable lives. They even took the "shattering of ideals" as a pretext for their procrastination and despondency.

What these young people said provoked my deep thoughts. To them, ideals are more valuable than life and love. However, they feel heartache at seeing their ideals shattered. How were their ideals shattered?

Of course, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were the archculprits. They ruined wealth and culture, trampled on all beautiful things and tore the young people's hearts and ideals into pieces.

The "collapse" of lofty images, I think, means that some veteran comrades have lost their prestige among young people. This is largely because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" threw mud at the veteran cadres and distorted their images. Of course, there were veteran comrades who did not treasure their glorious revolutionary records of the past, claimed credit for themselves and became arrogant, sought privileges and personal profits. What they did caused the young people to misunderstand and lose confidence in the older generation.

Now, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have been toppled. Vigorous efforts are being made to remove the obstacles standing in the way of realizing the ideals, to overcome enormous hardships and to solve heaps of problems. In the life-and-death battle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and in the struggles to achieve stability and unity, to develop the national economy and to revive fine traditions, the comrades of the older generation

led the people to march forward. Surely, there were veteran cadres who did not behave themselves. They were condemned by public opinion and restricted by the party constitution and the state laws. At present, the country has embarked upon a path of socialist modernization. At such a moment, grievances and unwarranted charges are incompatible with a prosperous social life. Efforts should be made to find out the cause if the young people's ideals are still being "shattered" and they have not yet bestirred themselves.

Is this because their personal problems have not been solved? The problems are many and varied. Those regarding the party's policies and regulations should be solved. Those that are still pending should be solved with the aid of the departments concerned. The situation in which "there is no way to appeal to a higher court" no longer exists now. Some problems cannot be solved for the time being because of an underdeveloped social economy. It is hoped that the masses will work with concerted efforts and with one heart to increase production and develop the economy. I came across a report a few days ago. In Honghu County, Hubei Province, 220 educated young people set up a factory by bringing their own sewing machines with them. In the first half of this year, they accepted the task of supplying 100,000 pairs of embroidered sandals for export. Of course, achieving this task required the aid of party policy and social support. Yet, the young people themselves have obviously displayed their enormous enthusiasm and initiative.

Are young people pessimistic about the future of society and the prospects of the revolution? This pessimism usually reflects the feebleness, instability and impracticability among some young people.

Stalin said: There are two groups of Marxists. One group is good at picking phrases and sentences out of context but feels quite helpless once it comes into contact with reality. They always complain about their ill fate and how fate always plays tricks on them. They do not understand that Marxism is meant to guide their actions. Marxists of the other group are just the opposite. They match their words with action. In the practice of transforming the world, they maintain the vivid revolutionary force of Marxism.

Idealists, I think, also fall into two groups. One group of idealists complains that reality is incompatible with their ideals. During his later years, Plekhanov, the "father of Marxism in Russia," was worried because he had doubts about his revolutionary activities during his early years. Russia's terrible backwardness and the complexity of the subsequent revolutionary struggle shook his belief in the Russian revolution. The other group of idealists dares to face and analyze the facts and pace along their path realistically. Most of the great personalities of ancient and modern times in China and other countries belong to the latter group. When Lenin proposed the great plan of electrification for the whole of Russia, he was laughed at by the West as the "Kremlin

fantasist." But, his "fantasies" were always linked with hard work and seldom came to nothing. He knew very well that Soviet Russia at that time was inflicted with the wounds of war and faced with countless difficulties. Yet, he never hesitated but started immediately to change the situation and undertake the most strenuous cause of building socialism. An ideal always stems from the search for a way to resolve a contradiction just as communism was born in the course of analyzing the capitalist contradictions. One who fears contradictions, problems and hardships cannot have a great ideal and is incapable of fighting for it. There is no ideal which can be attained by just sitting in an easy chair and without exerting efforts.

Since the May 4th movement, China has experienced many upheavals and hardships. Some participants in the May 4th movement were dispirited, fell back and degenerated. Others constantly maintained and carried forward their revolutionary ideal. Premier Zhou Enlai was one of them. He experienced innumerable hardships throughout his life. During his later years, he was in an adverse situation of being attacked overtly or covertly by the "gang of four." Yet, he firmly dedicated himself to the revolutionary cause until he died. To the young comrades, the unbridled havoc wreaked by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was probably their first test. Should they fall back in the face of hardships and give up their ideals at that moment?

Young people should have the whole country in mind and the whole world in view. The meaning and joy of life lie in fighting for an ideal. How can they confine themselves to their small personal circles? The CYL Central Committee has issued this call: "Start with me right now." Today is the time for us to act to fulfill our ideal.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'GUIZHOU RIBAO' STRESSES COMMUNIST IDEALS

HK130259 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 10 Jun 80

[Report on 10 June GUIZHOU RIBAO contributing commentator's article: "CCP Members Should Resolutely Strive for Lofty Ideals"]

[Text] The article said: Lofty ideals are the regenerative strength of revolutionaries. Without ideals, one is not a revolutionary. The ideal of a CCP member is to achieve communism in human society. To achieve such a lofty ideal, we should go through many important steps, and undertake many hard and arduous struggles. This requires that CCP members have incomparably strong confidence and determined will. Whether or not one resolutely establishes the will and ideal to strive for communism is a very serious basic issue for every CCP member.

The article pointed out: Because of the sabotage done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and the abnormal internal political life in the party, many of the excellent traditions of the CCP were lost. The lofty reputation of the CCP among the people was seriously damaged. Under such a situation, some CCP members who having been in the party for many years have blurred their objectives of endeavor and wavered in their beliefs. Some comrades who have newly joined the party lack basic party education. In their mind the so-called "communist ideals," "revolutionary lofty aspirations and great ideals" are none of their business. Because they have blurred their lofty ideals, unhealthy trends have grown in the party. Some CCP members and cadres in charge of work have subjective ideas divorced from reality and bureaucratic ideas divorced from the masses and pursue special privileges. Some CCP members promote extreme individualism, anarchism and bourgeois factionalism.

All these serious phenomena illustrate: At present, for all CCP members to reexamine themselves and establish the ideal and belief to struggle for communism is an urgently important task in political and ideological education. This is the need of rectifying party style and discipline, strengthening party spirit, speeding up the building of the four modernizations and improving the social atmosphere. By grasping this basic issue, we can understand the nature of the various unhealthy trends.

Consequently we can solve other problems, thus more CCP members can become qualified members.

The lofty ideals of CCP members should be shown in their unwavering devotion and revolutionary spirit toward the proletarian cause, and by every move in the battles on the road to communism.

The article said: As CCP members living and working in Guizhou, this good land of our motherland, our ideals should be implemented in selflessly working for the building of Guizhou. All CCP members in Guizhou, in particular the principal leaders at all levels, have the unshirkable duty to change the backward situation in Guizhou and implement the task of building the four modernizations.

The article concluded: At present the whole party is implementing the guiding principles, and studying and discussing the draft revision of the party constitution. Party organizations at all levels should in connection with this study and discussion educate the CCP members in communist ideals and beliefs, and teach them to understand the program, policy and principles of the party, get a clear understanding of the objective of communism, and establish the communist outlook on life. The CCP members who have a longer history of participating in revolution should continue to display their revolutionary vigor, strengthen communist spontaneity, and set examples for the new CCP members and all the people. This is related to the great issue of carrying forward our revolutionary traditions and training successors. The new CCP members should also set strict demands on themselves, try hard to carry on the glorious traditions, and shoulder the honored responsibility of implementing the party's cause to the end.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI'S CHEN GUODONG ON COMBINING PLENUM GUIDELINES

OW312201 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0752 GMT 31 May 80

[Text] Shanghai, 31 May--In his speech at the propaganda work conference recently held by the Shanghai municipal party committee, Chen Guodong, first secretary of the municipal party committee, pointed out: At present the central task of the propaganda front in the entire city is to combine the guidelines of the 5th plenary session of the party's 11th Central Committee with the guidelines of the 3d and 4th plenary sessions and deeply publicize and vigorously implement them, so that the vast numbers of party members, cadres and masses can achieve unity in their thinking along the party's ideological, political and organizational lines, the political situation of stability and unity can be further consolidated and developed, and all can work with one heart and one mind for the four modernizations.

Comrade Chen Guodong stressed that in studying, publicizing and implementing the guidelines of the 5th plenary session of the party's 11th Central Committee, it is essential to combine them with the guidelines of the 3d and 4th plenary sessions. He said: This is not entirely because the question of the criterion of truth was not fully discussed previously, but mainly because the fifth plenary session was a continuation and development of the third and fourth plenary sessions. The party's ideological line is the basis on which the party formulates and implements its political and organizational lines, and the party's organizational line is the guarantee for the implementation of its ideological and political lines. Without the ideological and political lines laid down by the third plenary session, the fifth plenary session could not have successfully solved the problems on the organizational line. All the resolutions adopted at the fifth plenary session are important measures to guarantee that the party's ideological and political lines will be implemented. The party's ideological, political and organizational lines are organically related. If we look back on the course we have traversed since the downfall of the "gang of four," we will see more clearly why it is necessary to study, publicize and implement the guidelines of the three plenary sessions combined. The third plenary session was convened in the circumstances when the whole nation was

conducting discussions on the question of the criterion of truth, breaking through the restrictions of the two "whatever's" and calling for doing away with superstitions and emancipating the mind. The third plenary session was the turning point to set things right. Its great significance is being more and more fully shown. In stressing the need to study, publicize and implement the guidelines of the three plenary sessions combined, our purpose is to achieve unity in our thinking along the party's ideological and political lines established by the third plenary session and to enhance our consciousness and determination in implementing the party line. Only by enhancing our understanding and unifying our thinking can we achieve unity in organization and action and work with one heart and one mind for the four modernizations.

Chen Guodong said: Our stress on studying, publicizing and implementing the guidelines of the three plenary sessions combined can help eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultraleft line and oppose erroneous right tendencies. We must affirm that in the past 3 years and more, Shanghai has made very great achievements in the struggle to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The main ideological trend of the cadres and masses is good. They support the guidelines of the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions, uphold the four basic principles and have their hearts set for the four modernizations. But, we must also see that the pernicious influence of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still exists in many fields, rather seriously in some fields. It must not be underestimated, and must be criticized further. At the same time, we must also see that rightist tendencies deviating from the four basic principles indeed exist in some fields. This, too, must not be ignored. Attention must be paid to criticizing and correcting them.

Comrade Chen Guodong said: In stressing the need to study, publicize and implement the guidelines of the three plenary sessions combined, our purpose is to further emancipate our minds, start up the machinery, seriously study the new situation and solve new problems. Insofar as the four modernizations are concerned, Shanghai is an old industrial base and occupies a very important position in our country's economic construction. How to bring Shanghai's strong points into full play, avoid its shortcomings and, according to the requirements of long-term national plans and proceeding from Shanghai's actual conditions, make more contributions to the four modernizations--this is a question that calls for us to seriously probe and find a realistic solution.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

GUANGXI TRIAL POINT ELECTION--Members of the Standing Committee of the Guangxi Regional People's Congress were organized into four groups to go to Nanning and Guilin municipalities and Yishan, Baise and Xingan counties to inspect the trial point election there since 2 June. They also inspected the situation of industrial and agricultural production, the movement to increase production and practice economy and the people's living. Members of the Standing Committee of the Guangxi Regional People's Congress included Huang Rong, chairman of the Standing Committee of the regional people's congress, Liang Huaxin and Vice Chairmen (Shi Zhaotang), (Zhao Mingjiao) and (Lu Rongshu). [Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 3 Jun 80 HK]

GANSU DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMISSION--The preparatory group of the Gansu Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission held a forum 25-29 May to relay the guidelines of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission's forum, reviewed the implementation of the guiding principles in the province and set forth demands on future work. Attending the forum were responsible comrades of the discipline inspection commissions of various municipalities, prefectures and autonomous prefectures. Zhao Chuqi, secretary of the Gansu Provincial CCP Committee attended and addressed the forum. [SK102324 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 6 Jun 80]

YUNNAN PARTY TRAINING--On 3 June, Li Qiming, second secretary of the Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee, gave a speech on party training to 3,000 party members from the provincial organs and institutes of higher learning. Recently, the Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee decided to hold courses to train party members in June. Leading comrades of the provincial CCP committee will give lectures every month on rotation. Li Qiming gave the first lecture. [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Jun 80 HK]

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS STRENGTHENED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Apr 80 p 1

[Article: "Qinghua University Party Committee Insists that Students Be Both Politically Conscious and Professionally Competent"]

[Text] The Qinghua University Party Committee devotes much attention to the political and ideological work of students, and it guides them firmly from the very beginning of their studies down the road to both socialist consciousness and professional competence. The committee has achieved excellent results by relying on a stable political and ideological work contingent, and by giving full rein to the broad ranks of teachers.

The impact of ideological trends on schools in the recent past caused some people to have the opinion that "being professionally proficient means being socialist-minded." They wanted "less talk about politics," and some even wanted schools to abolish political science courses. Faced with these circumstances, the Qinghua University Party Committee unequivocally pointed out that people who are being trained in socialist universities must become both politically conscious and professionally competent, and must develop in an all-round way--morally, intellectually, and physically. This point is the fundamental difference between socialist education and capitalist education. The members of the University Party Committee take the view that achievements were the most important aspect of political and ideological work done during the 17 years preceding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and that although errors such as reckless, confused application of political labels and oversimplification occurred, to require that students be "triple-A" is nevertheless proper and necessary. To waver on this fundamentally important issue regarding the objectives of training would be to make a bad mistake of historical significance.

The Qinghua University Party Committee maintains that carrying on political and ideological education requires not only the application of the valid experiences of the 17-year period mentioned above, but also a consideration of new circumstances and an inquiry into new patterns in ideological work.

What does the requirement that university students be "socialist-minded" mean? Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Qinghua University Party Committee urged students to support the leadership of the Communist Party, support socialism, and accept the jobs assigned to them by the state. They still regard these requests as applicable. Only a small percentage of the 18,000 students who graduated from Qinghua in the 13 years preceding the Cultural Revolution did not accept their job assignments, but now fewer students than in the past are expressing resolute acceptance of their job assignments. Consequently, persuading students on this point will require intensive, painstaking efforts.

With respect to questions concerning the content and methods of political and ideological education, the Qinghua University Party Committee has proposed "three tiers" or "three steps," namely: patriotic education, socialist education, and communist education. The university's task should be to make the thinking and practice of students uniform, to give them a patriotic and socialist education, and progressively to raise their level of socialist consciousness; the advanced elements of the student body should be further educated to the point that they acquire a communist world outlook, and the qualified students from this group would be admitted into the party.

The members of the University Party Committee believe that making crash efforts, carrying out campaigns, and doing things in an oversimplified and crude way are not appropriate methods for conducting ideological education. They think the school should truly practice "no isms" and use the methods of democratic discussion and systematic, patient guidance.

For more than 2 years now, the Qinghua University Party Committee has emphasized strengthening the political and ideological work of students as an important feature of its aforementioned ideological guidance, and, in line with new circumstances relating to the students' ideological state, has practiced an approach to education characterized by the following aspects:

One, intensified and improved instruction in political science courses. Last year, when some people wanted to abolish political science courses, Party Committee Secretary Liu Da [0491 6671] and several deputy secretaries presented lectures in political science classes and gave student cadres guidance in their political science studies. They thus gave strong support to teachers of political science courses. The party committee explicitly declared: Political science courses should be reinforced, not abolished, but the content and methods of instruction should be improved. The fact is that today's students lack a basic concept of Marxism-Leninism and a knowledge of its history, that many of them don't understand why we went to war with the imperialists, how imperialism encroached upon our country, why the Chinese revolution needs the leadership of the Communist Party, and why we must take the socialist road; these are all examples of areas in which supplementary instruction is needed. From now on, in accordance with a party committee recommendation, instruction in party history will include a presentation of modern history. Beginning this semester, a course in modern Chinese history

will be offered to some of the freshmen as a pilot project. Those students who study materialist philosophy will be taught to relate materialism to the ups and downs of the economy over the 30 years since the founding of our People's Republic, and to analyze the connection between subjective activity and objective laws. These students will be guided to a correct understanding of the experiences and lessons of socialist construction. As for the study of truth, its emphasis will be on relating the truth to the students' present knowledge. Students will carry on discussions on the criterion of truth. If teachers work hard to relate theory to practice, they will see their students learn. Students are already showing a gradually increasing interest in political science courses.

Two, education concerning the superiority of socialism. The party committee considers the task of educating students about the superiority of socialism an extremely urgent necessity. If this problem isn't solved, asking students to study the four modernizations of socialism will be empty talk. The school began dealing with this problem last year by instituting instruction for all students on special topics--an approach which teaches students to use dialectical materialism and historical materialism to examine and analyze practical problems, so that they can understand that socialism is historically inevitable in China. Many students now recognize that the disruption caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and the shortcomings and errors in our work, cannot be attributed to the socialist system. In addition, some classes hold discussions on the theme, "Begin with oneself start now, and do what must be done," and everybody draws inspiration from Premier Zhou's words, "Action is better than talk."

Three, education concerning the proper motives for studying. From the time new students enter the school, they are taught the history of Qinghua University, including the school's glorious tradition of student movements. They learn from surveys of graduates of all previous years that only graduates who are both politically aware and professionally competent can do their best at work. The slogan, "Strive to be healthy and work for our homeland at least 50 years" has been raised anew in order to encourage students to build up their physical strength. Students are led to recognize, from the fact that university students in this country constitute only a very small minority of all people of their age group, that they have an enormous responsibility to their homeland. Many members of a class in the water conservancy department who graduated in 1977 as specialists in irrigation and water conservancy thought at first that their field was one of "low prestige," and that when they arrived at Qinghua they had "entered the right place but made a wrong turn when they got inside;" that they had "come to a first-rate university to study a lowly rated specialty." The school leadership and the faculty were concerned about this attitude and moved quickly to counter it through education. University Vice President Zhang Guangdou [1728 0342 2435] and the person in charge of their field, Hui Shibo [1920 1102 0590], lectured this class on the role that water conservancy plays in the four modernizations, the prospects for the field, and the need for youths have ideals and aspirations. They also organized student participation in exhibitions of achievements in

water conservancy construction and in engineering projects involving reservoirs, trickle irrigation, and spray irrigation. This special educational effort motivated the students and brought out a display of enthusiasm. This class was designated the schools' outstanding collective 2 years in a row.

Four, education regarding moral character. The party committee proceeds from the existing ideological state of the present generation of young students, and takes the view that students' ideological education should start with the basics. To this end, they have added to the curriculum a course on the "five loves" (love one's country, love the people, treasure science, cherish labor, and take good care of public property). The underlying purposes behind this course are to strengthen discipline and foster social morality. The students are repeatedly educated on their duty to adhere to the social morality that all citizens of the new China must have. The course also promotes activities like "Moral Character Education Month" and "Study resolutely, set a new style," and it encourages the good habits of observing discipline, studying culture, being polite, and conscientiously safeguarding social morality. Brawlers, thieves, and other moral degenerates are the objects of stern criticism and even disciplinary action by the school. Once the fundamentals are established, the students are then allowed to make "rules for Qinghua University students." The school party committee considers the ideological education course the basic unit for student learning and life. From the time students start school, they are expected to pay special attention to the collective aspect of the course, do their class projects well, and thus gradually develop good school spirit. The party committee urges cadres from the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Youth League, as well as activists contingents, to set an example and spur on their classmates, so that the course will be a success.

Political and ideological work at Qinghua University is dependent on a contingent of political workers who are stable, Red, and expert. The party committee believes that instructors who are both socialist-minded and professionally competent are powerful role models for students' ideological work. Instructors ordinarily are people who carry a "double load" of political and professional work. Most middle-age instructors—who are the backbone of the political instructor contingent—also have teaching duties. The school arranges vocational studies for young instructors, and it guarantees that in time they will be able to raise their political consciousness and increase their professional competence. The school is mobilizing all teachers all political and ideological work. The party committee is of the opinion that young teachers and student cadres were the most important groups in political and ideological work during the "17-year" period, but not the situation is different. Many middle-age teachers matured in their jobs while being trained by the party to be both Red and expert. The thinking of older teachers has progressed greatly. Some of them have joined the party, and older teachers have prestige in the eyes of students. They should be permitted to play their parts in full. The facts show that students feel close to the older teachers who use their personal experiences to explain the superiority of the socialist system, the changes that came with liberation, the importance of being both Red and expert, and the school's fine tradition. The students receive a good education this way.

The Qinghua Party Committee says that although some work has been done, its development has been uneven and there are many deficiencies. The school must study new problems, summarize new experiences, and work hard to train talented personnel for socialist construction who are Red, expert, and healthy.

9292

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF STUDENTS DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Apr 80 p 1

[Article by the paper's commentator: "A Good Experience for Institutions of Higher Education in Carrying Out Political and Ideological Work"]

[Text] Today this paper published a report on Qinghua University's perseverance in carrying out ideological education of students. The report comprehensively introduces the guiding ideology, objective, content, ways and means, and results of this work during the past 2 years. Reading it is very enlightening. Their experience is undoubtedly useful to other institutions of higher education.

Today's university students will be tomorrow's mainstays on all fronts. Whether the schools can train them to become builders of socialism who are Red and expert has a direct bearing on the great issues of the four modernizations, the party, and the national destiny. Therefore, while training them to acquire specialized culture, scientific and technical knowledge, strengthening their ideological education becomes a strategically important daily task for institutions of higher education.

Socialist education differs from capitalist education in that the students it nurtures possess socialist consciousness, support the leadership of the Communist Party, ardently love the socialist motherland, work hard to serve the people, painstakingly study to gain professional proficiency, and are resolute in the struggle to construct a modern and powerful socialist country. In sort, they are individuals who are Red and expert and who are morally, intellectually, and physically developed in a well-rounded way. With this objective in mind, our institutions of higher education established an effective comprehensive system and methodology for carrying out ideological and political work during the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution, with very good results. During the time when they were on the rampage, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" destroyed this system and methodology. They exploited and malignantly developed certain overly leftist shortcomings and mistakes in our political and ideological work, such as simplicity and crudeness. They even wanted to train university students into unnatural, monstrous, and dangerous individuals, creating extremely serious and evil consequences. After the "gang of four" was smashed, the good tradition of

political and ideological work at institutions of higher education was revived to some extent, though at quite a few of these institutions the work is still not on course and is very inefficient. In the opinion of some school leaders, the present social atmosphere is not good because of Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" destruction for 10 years and because of numerous ideological problems among young students, as a consequence of which they feel powerless. Some think that the students' ideology will automatically improve after the social atmosphere gets better. Such a negative and passive attitude reflects ignorance on the part of some schools about the importance and urgency of political and ideological work for students. In contrast, Qinghua University considers the work to be the school's important daily task. Thus they have always persevered in the work, strengthening rather than weakening it, especially at a time when ideological errors are abundant in society. This is the basic reason for their good performance and success.

Another important reason for Qinghua's success in political and ideological work is their purposeful direction of education, using the correct methodology and a variety of forms according to investigation and a study of tendencies and characteristics of students' ideology. This generation of university students was selected on the basis of excellence subsequent to the reform of the enrollment system, and it represents the more outstanding portion of youths in the entire society. The majority of these students have a good mental attitude. They support the four basic principles, look ahead to the four modernizations, care about the affairs of state, and have an intense craving for knowledge and a strong passion for learning. Such is their essence and mainstream. But it cannot be denied that some of them are unclear about the four basic principles, have a tendency to overlook political affairs, and lack lofty revolutionary ideals; some are poor in organizational discipline; and some show no concern for the cultivation of moral character. Another characteristic of this young generation is that they have the courage to pursue truth and to think independently, but some individuals think they know everything at a glance and even abandon themselves to evil ways. It is precisely because of this characteristic that Qinghua University, in order to raise the students' ideological consciousness, strengthened and developed courses in political theory, used the fundamental tenets of Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to arm their minds, developed special education topics like the superior nature of socialism and activities such as "Learn from Lei Feng and raise a new spirit." They also strengthened education in moral character according to the students' actual situation, and truly carried out the "three don'ts" by persevering in democratic discussion and persuasive methods in education. All these feasible and purposeful methods are worth emulating.

In order to do the political and ideological work among students well, there must be a political work contingent that is strong and has the capability to fight. Every department at Qinghua University has political assistants with professional knowledge as well as the ability to perform political and ideological work. This is an organizational measure that has been

effective for many years. At the same time, they have mobilized strength from various sources, including the Communist Youth League and student unions, to perform ideological work among students. What deserves mention is that the numerous teachers mobilized also do the work, "teaching lessons as well as people." This should be energetically promoted especially today.

For our country's four modernizations, we hope that the leaders of institutions of higher education place political and ideological work on their agenda, firmly keep this central educational task in mind, and strengthen the ideological education of students in order to train Red and expert personnel who are morally, intellectually, and physically developed in a well-rounded way.

9586

CS0: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

RAISING EDUCATION, TEACHING LEVELS TO TRAIN NEW GENERATION URGED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Apr 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Mobilize the Party To Do Good Work in Educational Tasks"]

[Text] The Conference on Educational Work convened by the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee concluded a few days ago. This conference will exercise a great influence on further carrying out the spirit of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee and the National Conference on Educational Work, on upholding and improving party leadership in educational work, and on strengthening political thought, in order to enable the development of the educational undertakings of our municipality to gradually adapt to the needs in implementing the four modernizations.

What is the present situation on the educational front in our municipality? The general situation of educational undertakings in Tianjin is good when measured by taking practice as the sole criterion for testing truth. In a period of merely a little more than 3 years since the crushing of the "gang of four," fundamental changes have taken place on our educational front through efforts made by the masses of educational workers. Our comrades should thoroughly understand this. However, we also should see that, after 10 years of calamity, the vitality of educational undertakings in our municipality has not completely recovered and the wounds inflicted on them have not completely healed. Many problems and difficulties remain to be solved through our concerted action. It is groundless and incorrect to say that we cannot foresee a very good situation or to take a skeptical attitude toward the achievements and situation on the educational front. On the contrary, it will also impede the development of our educational tasks if we can not find out the problems and difficulties existing therein or if we are unrealistically optimistic.

School is a place to train qualified personnel. It is a processing plant of talents. The most urgent and fundamental task of educational undertakings is to train, both rapidly and in great numbers, qualified personnel for the implementation of the four modernizations if education can not move forward. The development of society shows that education is an important factor in carrying out modernized large scale production. Development of education

is both a problem of economics and of implementing the four modernizations. If we do not treat this problem from a strategic point of view and incorrectly deem it a "consumer unit" without attaching importance or giving support to it, the four modernizations will become a "fantastic illusion" no matter how resounding the slogan is. All of us can think it over--if education can not move forward, where do the qualified personnel come from? Without qualified personnel, it is impossible to talk about the implementation of the four modernizations! Even in some of the capitalist countries, great importance has been attached to educational tasks. They are concerned about training a variety of qualified personnel. They call it "talent investment" or "brains investment." Ours is a socialist country and socialism should be better and more farsighted than capitalism. If we are to conscientiously carry out the four modernizations, we ought to attach great importance to the development of educational tasks and to the training of a variety of talents. Whether there will be outstanding people of talent coming forth will have a special bearing on middle and elementary school education as a whole. Middle and elementary schools are the foundations of education as a whole. Training as many qualified personnel as possible in the fastest way has to begin with the young children at the elementary and middle schools. In a few years, or in some 10 to 20 years, or even a longer period of time, students in the elementary or middle schools today will step into their respective working posts and shoulder heavy burdens in carrying out the four modernizations. And the outstanding ones among them will take up leadership posts. Only by improving elementary and middle school education can the scientific and cultural levels of the peoples of China be elevated and the general mood of society be changed. By then, we will be free from worry about a lack of successors to carry on the revolutionary cause and the task of reconstruction. It is in this sense that we can say that hope is placed on this coming generation. Therefore, we have to start now at the middle and elementary schools to move our educational tasks forward.

To do a good job in educational tasks, the party's educational principles should be implemented in an all-round way. Teaching should be upheld as the central task and the quality and quantity of education should be improved comprehensively for all students thereby making them workers with both socialist consciousness and culture, and vital new force in the socialist modernization construction. To strengthen political thought, it is necessary to adhere to the "three virtues" no matter whether it is in universities, in middle schools, or in elementary schools. The relationship between red and expert should be tackled properly and no effort should be spared to make them both socialist minded and vocationally proficient. Red is to adhere to the firm and correct political direction; expert is to advance to higher scientific and cultural levels. Our socialist schools and our people's teachers can not deviate from the proletarian class interest by merely teaching students scientific and cultural knowledge. The focus of party work has been shifted by laying emphasis on cultural study. It is necessary and it has at the same time set a still higher demand on strengthening political thought. The four basic principles should be adopted as the core for strengthening political thought. Education in revolutionary ideals and communist moral quality for the students should be strengthened. Especially the

teenage students of today were brought up during the period of the Great Cultural Revolution. When they began to know the world, much of what they heard or saw, or what they touched in society were tricks played by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They know little about the glorious traditions of the party and still less about the genuine fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism. They also do not quite understand the darkness of old China, the difficulties of the working people, and why it is said that there will be no new China without the Communist Party. They are not able to distinguish right from wrong when society is amidst disturbances. Some of the students even take a skeptical or a vacillating attitude towards the four basic principles. Thinking in such a way is extremely dangerous. For that reason, schools of different categories and at all levels should go all out to step up teaching political thought and should not in the slightest weaken efforts.

To do good job in educational tasks, the primary condition is to have a contingent of teachers who are both socialist minded and vocationally proficient. The masses of teachers in our municipality do live up to the expectations of the party and the people. They are really conscientious in teaching and are industrious at their jobs. The absolute majority of them, be they the young teachers who have begun work recently or the old teachers and professors who are in their sixties to seventies or even seventies to eighties, are assiduously doing their part to implement the four modernizations. The middle-age and young teachers receive a low income, yet their burdens are heavy. The leadership at all levels must look at everything from their angle and take care of their every need to lighten the burdens on them and to emancipate them from their trouble back at home so that they can have more energy and time to train and bring up qualified personnel for the four modernizations. Politically, we must be concerned about their advancement. Qualified teachers asking to join the party should not be barred from the doors of the party. One who has matured should be indoctrinated. At the same time, the level of qualified teacher should be elevated. At present, a considerable number of teachers are incompetent at their jobs. It is necessary to create and provide conditions and opportunities for them to engage in advanced studies. Even comrades who are competent at their jobs are required to receive reeducation to better their qualifications. The outstanding teachers who are in their prime of life must be boldly promoted to appropriate leading posts. The secretaries of school party branches should not take on everything but leave a free hand to school masters. The masses of teachers as a paragon of virtue and learning in the eyes of the students should conscientiously make themselves models for students. For this reason, every teacher should consciously strengthen ideological awareness and step up professional study in order to serve as a teacher of the people both socialist minded and vocationally proficient. He thus can make a due contribution to our municipality for developing a very good situation on the educational front. Here, we have to emphatically point out that teachers are assiduous gardeners as well as engineers of human souls. Their labor deserves our homage. A good common practice of paying respect to teachers as well as the elders in society should take shape all over the municipality.

Education is a party cause. To do a good job in educational tasks the party leadership has to be strengthened and improved. Education should be deemed as an important key to the success of the four modernizations by party organizations at all levels. To do a good job in educational tasks should be listed as an item on the agenda of the day. Educational tasks involve society in all its aspects. People of all walks of life and millions of families have wide connections with education. Therefore, party organizations at all levels have to mobilize the strength of society to give educational works their support and help. Every unit and all citizens should do their utmost for the purpose of doing a good job in educational tasks. All of them also have a duty to care for the growing up of our coming generation. They must on no account shift the important task of implementing the four modernizations onto the educational sector. In the next few years, the structure of the secondary school education should be reformed, so does the system of the senior middle and elementary schools. Material conditions required to operate a school should be improved.....To do a good job in education work will entail enormous labor and certainly will encounter many difficulties. However, we are confident that through strengthening and improving party leadership in education, by utilizing all active factors in society, under a mobilized party, and being supported by coordinated efforts from all directions, a great leap forward and a great improvement in educational tasks in our municipality under the banner of the four modernizations will unquestionably be within our grasp.

9560

CSO: 4005

NEED FOR REFORM IN POLITICAL THEORY EDUCATION STRESSED

Shanghai University Official's View

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Apr 80 p 2

[Article: "Shanghai Normal University Vice President Urges Reform in Political Theory Teaching"]

[Text] According to a WENHUI BAO report, entitled "How Can We Improve Political Theory Teaching?", Zhou Yuanbing (0719 0626 0393), philosopher and vice president of the Shanghai Normal University expressed his view.

Zhou Yuanbing states that, at present, the main problem of political theory teaching is too many grandiose projects. There are no clear cut lines between the political theory courses in high schools and colleges. The content is not based on the principle of following in order and advancing step by step or the law of the students' intellectual development. Owing to the unilateral emphasis on the thoroughness of each course, the content has been repeated several times. For example, the economic crisis of capitalism appears several times in the high schools' "History of Social Development" and "Common Knowledge on Political Economics" and in the college-level "Political Economics." Repetition is even more obvious in the four college political science courses. This repetition has resulted in a strange phenomenon: review outlines for political science are about the same for high school entrance examinations, college entrance examinations and graduate school examinations. No wonder when students have been admitted to college, they consider the study of political science as nothing but "heating up the leftovers." Also, school political science courses are called "compressed cookies" from college courses.

Zhou points out that at present another problem exists in political science education: theory is seriously divorced from practicality. Teaching of pure theory is rather prevalent. Some teachers, due to the protracted shackles of bookish knowledge and limits of the political science courses' design and teaching outlines, could not or dared not use Marxist basic principle to resolve the practical problems of the students' ideology. They only taught students to "grasp knowledge"

rather than "grasp the weapon." Of course, it is good to pay attention to systematic teaching, but one should not neglect linking the theory with present reality.

How does one reform political science teaching in schools? Comrade Zhou Yuanbing entrusted the comrades in the Department of Political Education to draft a "Proposal on the Implementation of the Curriculum of Political Science for Colleges, High Schools, and Elementary Schools." According to the proposal, in elementary schools, whether political science courses are offered or not, teaching outlines and materials have to be developed whose content emphasize the introduction of our great fatherland and stories about the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, outstanding scientists, combat heroes, and model workers, so that the elementary school children can fundamentally mold an ideological and moral love for the fatherland and the people as well as love of work and science. Middle school political science courses should not be a repetition of the college work. Course titles should not be numerous; they can be generally referred to as "Political Knowledge." The contents of the textbooks can be divided into "Revolutionary Outlook on Life and Communist Morality," "From Ape to Man: A Brief History of the Development of Society," "Knowledge of the Socialist Legal System," "Ideological Method and Work Method," and "Knowledge of Economic Reconstruction." The youths in the secondary schools can learn how to conduct themselves, learn the rights and responsibilities of a citizen in new China, gain a preliminary understanding of the basic viewpoints of Marxism, acquire a basic knowledge of socialist modern construction, and become determined to dedicate themselves to the construction of the Four Modernizations. College-level courses on public political theory can be generally referred to as "The Principle of Marxism." In this way, the teaching of Marxist philosophy, political economics, and scientific socialism can be systematic and integrated. The present situation in which these three courses are repetitious can be improved. As for the course "Situation and Mission," it is of great importance in solving the students' ideological problems, raising political awareness, and accomplishing the Party's central task. Therefore, this course should continue to be taught. But teaching has to be conducted directly by the school Party committees, and leading comrades of the school Party committees and the departmental Party branches should conduct platform teaching. Teaching should be lively and powerful and should be conducted in manner which closely links the students' ideology and reality.

According to Zhou Yuanbing, as citizens of the PRC, college students should understand the modern history of the Chinese revolutionary movement. He suggests that the practice of the initial post-liberation period--change the "History of the Chinese Communist" into the "Modern History of the Chinese Revolutionary Movement"--be resumed. He said that the main portion of "Modern History of China's Revolutionary Movement" should be the activities of the Chinese revolution led by the Chinese Communists. However, it is different from the viewpoint of teaching Party history. In the past, Party history was like a biography of a

certain leader or leaders. Today, in teaching about the history of China's revolutionaries, involves the Party's function in the entire history of China's revolution. This can help everyone to recognize the greatness of the Party.

The key to the reform of political science courses is, according to Zhou Yuanbing, to change "grasp knowledge" to "grasp the weapon." College students, while studying "The Principle of Marxism" and "Modern History of China's Revolutionary Movement," should pay special attention to combining studying and appropriate social surveys so that they can grasp the basic principle of Marxism and resolve practical problems. Students whose major field is not liberal arts should also do some social survey.

Teaching methodology should be reformed drastically in order to thoroughly improve the current situation in which theory in the political science courses is divorced from reality. He points out that teachers diligently read from the text, item by item. This method is not interesting enough to have good results. We should consider adopting the heuristic method and discussion method in teaching. Before class starts, the teacher should prepare handouts for his students on what he is going to teach. The students can ask practical questions after studying the handouts and the teacher will answer their questions. This method can raise the level of classroom teaching. A related issue is that appropriate reform in examinations should also be considered, whether it is the entrance, midterm or graduation examination. Naturally, this question is more complicated and, therefore, requires more study.

Government Symposium

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Apr 80 p 2

[Article: "Ministry of Education Sponsors Discussions on Political Theory Teaching by Institutes of Higher Learning"]

[Text] A symposium sponsored by the Ministry of Education on teaching materials of Marxism-Leninism in institutes of higher learning was held in Ji'nan recently. The first draft of the four textbooks on Marxism-Leninism, "History of the Chinese Communist Party," "Political Economics," "Philosophy," and "History of the International Communist Movement," was reviewed and examined. Last year, the Ministry of Education tasked the provincial and municipal educational departments of Shanghai, Jilin, Guangdong, Hubei, Shandong, and Zhejiang to develop textbooks. All the participants held detailed discussions on the systems and styles of these textbooks and the important theoretical questions involved. They all brought up their ideas for revisions. They also preliminarily checked the teaching outlines of the four courses on Marxism-Leninism which are being experimentally offered in institutes of higher learning. At present, the provincial and municipal development sections concerned are making revisions based on suggestions brought up at the symposium. Before the schools start this fall, the 18 teaching materials for these four courses

will be published and distributed by the provincial and municipal People's Publishers concerned.

Middle School Courses

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Apr 80 p 2

[Article: "Ministry of Education Convenes Conference on Political Teaching in Middle Schools"]

[Text] Recently, the Ministry of Education convened a meeting on the development of course outlines for middle school political science. Present were comrades from the educational departments of Beijing and Shanghai, specialized teachers in the field of political education from three normal universities of Beijing, Shanghai, and Jilin and some middle school political science teachers. There were a total of 30 some people. The political science curriculum decided upon by the Ministry of Education in 1979 was discussed in great depth at the meeting. An outline for course development was also drafted. Development of the five political science courses for middle schools were entrusted to Shanghai Normal University, Jilin Normal University, Beijing Normal University, the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Education, and the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Education. The Ministry of Education has already sent them the certificates of commission.

8953

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

DIVERSIFICATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION DESIRABLE

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Apr 80 p 2

[Article by Shao Jinrong [6730 6855 2837] of Beijing Industrial College:
"Higher Education Must Have a Diversified Structure"]

[Text] The single nature of Chinese higher education, from system and structure to length of schooling and types, should be changed. Simplification is not favorable to national economic development. For example, it used to be that the craft and technical personnel required by a plant could be supplied by junior colleges and secondary vocational schools, but because institutions of higher learning have a unified, single educational system, plants must now rely on graduates of engineering colleges to fill these positions. But while in school, engineering college graduates studied mainly basic theory and focused mostly on design, so their foundation in the manufacturing trades is weak and their manual vocational skills are deficient. Thus, on the one hand they cannot adapt very quickly, and on the other they cannot be fully utilized. This is a waste of talent.

Diversification of higher education structures requires rational reorganization and correct arrangement according to the needs of national economic development. We should clarify the mission and proportional development of each level and type of institution of higher learning. Take, for example, the system of day colleges of engineering. I think there can be three kinds of reorganization here: first, a small number of colleges should train mainly scientific and engineering technology researchers for engineering design. These schools should have both undergraduate and graduate students and should stress both teaching and research. Second, the majority of four-year engineering colleges should train mainly engineering technology design personnel for the manufacturing crafts. Third, junior colleges should train mainly manufacturing engineering, technical reform, and production craft personnel. Since these three types of schools divide the labor and have their own particular emphasis, they complement each other.

We should permit several duration of schooling to exist and should permit the testing of different durations of schooling. It is impossible to expect persons who must be trained to different qualitative standards to complete their training in a single period of schooling. The subject which is debated

the most regarding the length of university schooling is the question of whether or not to extend the present 4-year curriculum. One group wants to extend it to 5 years and another group wants to have two segments of schooling: 4 years of undergraduate and 1 or 2 years of graduate training. The two types should be tested, but it would be best to limit it to some key universities.

In reorganizing the proportional relationships among institutions of higher learning, at present we should not place the emphasis of reorganization on developing 4-year colleges, and even less so on turning 4-year colleges into 5- or 6-year colleges, but on developing 2- and 3-year junior colleges. From 1952 to 1956, China developed a group of 2- and 3-year junior colleges, but later on, in the pursuit of standardization, they were all turned into 5-year colleges. We should assimilate the lesson of this historical experience. In recent years in higher education in Japan and West Germany, it is the junior colleges that have developed the most rapidly and the total number of students in junior colleges is one-fourth or one-fifth of the total number of college students. In the United States, vocational and specialized education is given mainly in 2-year community colleges, and the number of students in Yugoslavia's short-term higher education already has reached one-third of the total number of students. The Soviet Union also has always paid considerable attention to the development of junior colleges.

The common features of junior colleges in various countries are: training objectives are clear and specialization is strong; basic theory is turned into practically applied techniques and the students become proficient in a particular line; the length of schooling is short and is effective, so that after graduation the student can quickly begin actual work; specialized instruction is flexible and diverse, suited to the trades and professions; instructional costs are low, which effectively resolves the question of going on for more education and getting a job after middle school graduation. At present we are faced with the problem of a scarcity of talent, while having a large group of secondary school graduates who cannot go on for more education or get employment. To develop 2- and 3-year junior colleges as quickly as possible cannot but be a matter of the most overall importance.

Even if we have just one standard duration of schooling in universities, we cannot have just one model. For example, among 4-year engineering colleges, there can be a certain number that have many disciplines or even be comprehensive; there can be those with a large number of specializations or with just one discipline; there can be a certain number that are general; there can be a certain number that combine science and engineering, with engineering as the most important, or a few that emphasize science and are basic; there can be a large number of 4-year institutions that emphasize mainly basic theory; there can be a number which emphasize basic theory and engineering application equally; and there can be some which are devoted predominantly to engineering application.

The day university cannot be of just one kind. In the past few years, a kind of cooperative education has developed in U.S. 4-year colleges--i.e., a school and plant or enterprise run a school jointly, the university and plant sign a contract, and the school works out the instructional plan with the plant to arrange for the students' labor and work. In 4 years, the student has 9 months of work and study at the plant, so that theory and practice, basic knowledge and engineering skills, are closely combined, training the student so he can begin work as soon as he arrives at the plant, which makes it easy for the school to find research topics and the industry investment. About one-quarter of all U.S. colleges are like this. It should be said that among the many forms of running a school, as far as combining education and student labor are concerned, we have even better conditions and should scientifically summarize our experience so that higher education can better adapt to the needs of the four modernizations.

Educational planning, courses, curriculum content, and study time should not be overly unified. Take, for example, the present ratio of basic courses to specialized courses in an engineering college. No matter what the aim of training, the time spent in specialized courses has been reduced to less than 15 percent of total study time, and in many cases specialization is as low as 10 percent. It is like this even in colleges and vocational schools which train mainly manufacturing engineers, production craftsmen, or maintenance and operating technicians. It is necessary to strengthen basic theory, but different schools should be different. We should guard against and stop the trend of ignoring engineering application and lowering the ability of engineering design. In this regard, we should borrow from the tortuous history of other countries. For example, in the 1950's, science and engineering colleges in the United States emphasized engineering application; in the 1960's, due to the stimulus of the Soviet Union's being the first to launch a satellite, they emphasized basic theory; in the 1970's, because of the rapid development of science and technology, they are again emphasizing engineering application. Through the experience of the last 20-odd years, the general trend of development of engineering education in the United States today is to emphasize that teaching plans should combine theory and practice; as the figurative expression goes, "The pendulum is swinging back." Some U.S. colleges have two engineering teaching plans: one is to study more basic theory and emphasize engineering science; the other is to study more engineering design and emphasize engineering technology. As far as our country is concerned, whether we look at it from the perspective of development or from the perspective of objective demands, under the generally unified premise of generality we should permit and encourage a variety of colleges and vocational schools and, according to the different needs of each sector of the national economy, focus on different training goals and formulate teaching plans with a special character and with strengths to suit and promote the development of the national economy.

8226

CSO: 4005

BORROW SELECTIVELY FROM ABROAD IN ENGINEERING EDUCATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Apr 80 p 2

[Article by Zhang Wei (1728 4850) Professor and Assistant Dean of Qingdao University: "The Question of Learning from the Experience of Other Countries in Reforming Higher Education"]

[Text] The report of the Fifth Plenum of the 11th Party Congress points out that we should define an educational planning and educational system which is suited to the needs of national economic development. First of all, seeking truth from facts, we should summarize the lessons of experience, both positive and negative, on China's educational front. At the same time, we should also broadly understand the changes in educational development in other countries over the past 10 or 20 years, analyze them, and assimilate the useful parts. We cannot either totally deny or totally accept foreign methods; otherwise, we will again commit the mistakes of either closing the country to international intercourse or copying foreign experience mechanically. A nation's education is conditioned by the various aspects of its society. Its educational thought, educational system, and educational content change with the changing demands of the times and society.

Below I will discuss the situation with regard to several important links in educational reform in an engineering university.

The question of length of schooling: For many years, engineering in U.S. universities has been a 4-year curriculum. Basically, the students learn only some basic courses and basic technical courses, but field work in factories is not required. In England it is a 3-year curriculum. In some countries on the European continent it is about 5 years. These differences are related to the different lengths of elementary and secondary schooling in these countries. Apart from this, many large U.S. factories have established training programs; after university graduates come to the factory, they are trained for a year or two, and then the good ones are retained and the others are transferred to employment in small enterprises. University engineering students on the European continent receive rather a comprehensive engineering training in school, including a dozen weeks of field work in a factory. It can be seen that the length of schooling for higher

education in engineering in various countries is determined by the actual situation in the country's society. In China at present and for the recent period, large plants have generally not had enough qualified teachers, and hoping that plants will generally operate training classes and have links with higher education will probably not be realized. The units which employ people hope that, once university students graduate, they will be able to assume responsibility. Before entering a university, and while they are in school, our students have very few opportunities for field work in production. Thus, I think it would be appropriate for students to get some of the basic training that engineers need as part of their university program.

The question of department and faculty arrangements: Narrow specialization and a particular department or faculty are important questions for the kind of training and the kinds of people that are to be trained. Generally, engineering specialization in capitalist countries is very broad. After we learned from the Soviet Union, specialization tended to be narrow and there were quite a few problems. American specialization is very broad and highly adaptable; especially today, when science and technology develop so rapidly, the crossing of disciplines and branches is increasing daily and this is one of its strongpoints. However, this also is a factor related to finding employment. At the same time, branches of U.S. engineering are very much influenced by socioeconomic factors. For example, in the 1950's and 1960's, U.S. university aeronautical and space departments were especially numerous, but in the past few years many aeronautical and space departments have been either discontinued or combined with others, greatly reducing their scale. The main reason for this is that the budget of the U.S. NASA has been reduced and the social need is less. On the other hand, some schools have recently been organizing new specialized departments. On the basis of U.S. practice, this flexibility may be a good thing. But in China, it should be determined by our needs and possibilities.

The question of arrangement of curriculum: Instructional planning in the engineering departments of famous U.S. universities has changed a great deal in the past 10 or 20 years. The engineering training curriculum has been further reduced. Whether or not this is a good thing is open to question. Even if it is a good thing, it is also determined by the U.S. practice. Whether or not it is suitable for China at the present stage deserves further consideration.

We could also cite the example of instructional material reform in the natural sciences in elementary and secondary schools. In 1957, after the Soviet Union's manmade satellite was put into orbit, the United States was very much shaken up. They thought that the United States was behind the Soviet Union in this area because the teaching materials in elementary and secondary school natural science were outdated. So the teaching materials in the secondary schools for mathematics, physics, and chemistry were quickly changed, and the elementary and secondary school mathematics teaching system was changed to emphasize many modern concepts of mathematics. As a result, students grew stronger in mathematical concepts, but their ability in

computation was no longer as good. U.S. university professors have complained a lot about secondary school mathematics teaching materials. So we definitely cannot blindly copy foreign teaching materials but should look into their effects and influences.

From the above examples, it can be seen that in engineering, the higher education system of each country and its planning and content have their own special character and strongpoints. These characteristics are all intimately related to the country's politics, society, economy, culture, and scientific and technological situation, as well as to the history of educational development. Their way of doing things has some connections, and they are now summarizing the lessons of experience. Thus, the assimilation of foreign experience certainly should be combined with a country's situation. We should assimilate the good parts and not copy wholesale; otherwise, we will suffer for it. This is what it is like in engineering, but other disciplines should be noted too. Only in this way can our higher educational system be conducted in the characteristic manner of a socialist country, and only then can it make an even better and more appropriate contribution to realization of the four modernizations for our ancestral land before the end of the century.

8226

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SUGGESTIONS ON STRENGTHENING EDUCATIONAL WORK OF CADRES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Mar 80 p 1

[Text] Beijing, 10 Mar (XINHUA)--Following the shift in emphasis of all the party's work, strengthening the educational work of cadres has become a task of immediate concern. To this end, the Propaganda Department and Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee jointly issued the "Suggestions on Strengthening the Educational Work of Cadres" (hereafter called "Suggestions").

The "Suggestions" point out that cadres are a deciding factor once the political line is determined. Generally speaking, our cadre ranks are good and have made tremendous contributions over the long period of our nation's revolution and construction. However, it is still a new task for us to engage in the four modernizations, and at present the greatest difficulty is that we don't understand and are not familiar with many new things. The principal measure to be taken in overcoming this difficulty is to organize the cadres on a large scale to renew their learning so that they will constantly heighten their theoretical level of Marxism, expand their knowledge and master new skills. In another respect, the serious damage inflicted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the building of our cadre ranks has resulted in some cadres, on many important issues, being unable to distinguish right from wrong and being rigid or semirigid in their thinking. The learning, understanding and thorough execution of the party's line and its general and specific policies in the new era are, therefore, hampered and the professional work of many people becomes rusty so that the requirements of the four modernizations cannot be satisfactorily met. Hence, strengthening cadre educational work has become a task of immediate concern. The leading organizations of party committees at all levels and on all fronts should consider the carrying out of cadre educational work as the basic course of action in realizing the four modernizations, rapidly changing the situation in which the training of cadres is not grasped or not grasped firmly.

The policy proposed by the "Suggestions" for cadre education in the new era is: with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the guide and with the solution of problems of our nation's four modernizations as the central

theme, study relevant theory and practical knowledge and train a contingent of cadres who understand the basic knowledge of Marxism and understand the party's line and guiding principles in the new era, stick to the socialist road, possess specialized knowledge and have an abundance of the arduous pioneering spirit. From this cadre contingent, a multitude of specialists in various trades and professions will be produced. Regarding the contents and requirements of learning, the "all in one" method, which makes no distinction between different trades and professions and between the different educational levels of cadres, must be decisively changed, and the principle of learning what is needed and replenishing what is inadequate should be carried out. Cadres of various departments should strive to learn Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and the party's lines, guiding principles and policies, but different requirements should be given to different cadres. Cadres of various trades and professions should endeavor to become experts, and this is the duty which must be faithfully carried out by each cadre. It is dereliction of duty to study indifferently and to feel content to be a layman. Leading cadres at various levels should take the lead to learn better and to set good examples. During the process of learning, a good style should be developed, and this involves combining theory with practice, seeking truth from facts, liberating thinking, standing up for the truth and correcting mistakes. For cadres of a lower cultural level, learning culture should be stressed.

The "Suggestions" point out that lively, varied forms should be adopted in reeducating cadres. Party commissions of various levels should fully emphasize and strengthen the work of party schools and professional cadre schools and gradually set up a cadre education network with party schools and professional cadre schools as the pillar, and gradually carry out a normal cadre education system. They also must prepare to open training classes for excellent middle-aged and young cadres, and to create conditions to open various kinds of professional advancement classes for leading cadres. At present, it is necessary to widely open short-term classes for the rotational training of all cadres, striving to give training once to each cadre under their own control within 3 to 5 years. To be rotationally trained first are leading cadres of party and government organizations of various levels and professional staffs of businesses and enterprises and people's communes.

The "Suggestions" demand that the supervision of on-the-job training should be emphasized and strengthened and the phenomena of formalism as well as permissiveness and relaxation should be overcome. Cadres should be well organized to learn politics, theory and business.

The "Suggestions" propose corrective measures for problems concerning budgets, school housing, teachers rank, teaching materials, etc. which are part of the educational work of cadres.

The "Suggestions" ask party commissions at various levels to put the educational work of cadres on their important daily agenda. For the training of

cadres at various levels and various kinds, arrangement and formulation of schedules should be made as a whole, and the implementation of the schedules should be checked. We should strengthen the direction of thinking, the correctness of knowledge and the handling of the relationship between the work of the four modernizations and reeducation. We should commend the good ones and assist the bad ones, constantly pushing forward the cadre education movement so as to bring about a wide and deep development. We should set up step by step an educational review system for cadres of various kinds. Results of the review should be posted in the personal files of cadres as important data for evaluating whether a cadre is competent at his present job and eligible for promotion.

RENMIN RIBAO published a summary of the "Suggestions on Strengthening the Educational Work of Cadres" on 10 March, and concurrently published an article by a commentator entitled "Grasp Firmly and Well the Training Work of Cadres." The article points out that during the period of Soviet socialist construction, Comrade Stalin proposed that "Cadres decide everything," and "technology decides everything." This thinking has been mistakenly criticized during our nation's 10 chaotic years. In light of our experiences in national reconstruction during the last 30 years, in order to establish a strong modernized socialist nation, we must cultivate and educate cadre ranks who will insist on walking the socialist path, possess specialized knowledge and skills, and become party loyalists as well as professional specialists. Otherwise, the goal cannot be realized.

9503

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LIU SHAOQI'S EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS RECALLED, PRAISED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Apr 80 p 2

[Article by Chen Daoyuan [7115 6670 3293], Tao Weliang [7118 5588 2254] and Lei Kexiao [7191 0344 0876]: "Restore the Reputation of the 'Two Kinds of Educational Systems'"]

[Text] Comrade Liu Shaoqi was an important leader of the party and nation and was very concerned about Chinese education. Proceeding from the realities in China, he made an important contribution to education in new China by devoting himself to reforming the educational system, to spreading education, to raising the cultural level of the worker and peasant masses, and to training construction talent cheaper and faster. His proposal to try out two kinds of educational systems was an important contribution to education in new China. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" launched an unbridled attack on the two kinds of educational systems to frame and persecute Comrade Liu Shaoqi and nearly smashed China's urban and rural work- (farm-) study schools with serious consequences. Today Comrade Liu Shaoqi has been rehabilitated, and his ideas and practices in education also should be given a fair hearing.

I

The appearance of the two kinds of educational systems goes back to the 1950's. With the completion of the First Five-Year Plan, China's socialist revolution and construction made great strides, and education also developed correspondingly. However, because China was still very poor and very populous, in a short period of time it was not possible to have all schoolage children go to school, nor was it possible for the overwhelming majority of those who had already graduated from middle and elementary schools to go on for more schooling; yet economic construction demanded that education develop as much as possible. This was a sharp contradiction and became a new problem in construction development. Comrade Shaoqi went deeply into the realities of life, studied and investigated, at the same time, borrowing from experiences abroad, groped for a way to solve this problem. In November 1957 he forwarded to the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League some materials concerning the fact that "two-thirds of American college students work and

study," and he proposed that the League Central Committee study this to see if China could try it out on an individual basis. Before long, the League Central Committee issued the "Resolution on Encouraging Work Study Programs Among Students." Then the Ministry of Education issued a notice demanding that education departments and middle and normal schools actively support the resolution of the Youth League and systematically carry out work- (farm-) study.

In May 1958, at the expanded meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee, Comrade Liu Shaoqi proposed two kinds of educational systems and two kinds of labor systems and explained the necessity for these two kinds of systems. Later on he repeatedly spoke of this question, saying he believed that implementing two kinds of educational systems had economic benefits and could also spread education more rapidly. He felt that combining education and productive labor could create conditions for reducing the gap between physical labor and intellectual labor and at the same time help resolve the question of employment in society.

In September of the same year the Party Central Committee and the State Council issued its "Directive on Educational Work," which correctly pointed out: With the objective of training workers with socialist consciousness and culture, the nation will have three main types of schools--i.e., day schools, work-study schools, and various types of after-work schools. To spread education rapidly, simultaneously with the operation of day schools, after-work cultural and technical schools and work-study schools should be developed on a large scale. This measure reflected the wishes and demands of the broad masses and mobilized the initiative to operate schools in various places and departments, with the result that work-study and farm-study schools sprang up overnight throughout the country. The implementation of two educational systems and the start of many forms of teaching caused the rapid development of various types of schools, and education took on a new appearance.

In 1964 and 1965, Comrade Shaoqi inspected over a dozen provinces and cities, including Tianjin, Shanghai, Shandong, and Anhui, and gave nearly 20 reports presenting directly to the cadres and masses the significance of two educational systems and two labor systems. In this period, on 17 November 1964, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party relayed the "Plan for Developing a Work- (Farm-) Study Educational System (Draft)" by the Jiangsu Provincial Committee. In March and October 1965 the Ministry of Education convened separately the National Rural Farm-Study Educational Conference and the National Urban Work-Study Educational Conference. In December 1965 the Ministry of Higher Education convened a Work- (Farm-) Study National Higher Education Conference. These conferences summarized and exchanged experience in pilot work- (farm-) study schools, discussed the mission of future policy, and formulated development plans. Comrade Shaoqi was very interested in these conferences and personally heard reports and issued important directives.

In November 1965, Comrade Shaoqi chaired an expanded conference of the Politburo of the Central Committee which especially discussed the question of work-study education. Comrade Shaoqi gave several speeches at the conference, and Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and other comrades made important statements. The comrades who attended the conference all agreed with the views of Comrade Shaoqi and the direction of the Central Committee.

This is the origin and the testing process of the two kinds of educational systems. This process demonstrates that the appearance and testing of the two kinds of educational systems in China were not the subjective will of Comrade Shaoqi alone, but constituted a unified policy decision of our party at the time. In the theoretical and practical activity regarding this issue, Comrade Shaoqi played an important role in formulating the policy decision.

II

Comrade Shaoqi's basic thinking on the two kinds of educational systems included the following points:

First: Implementing the two Kinds of Educational Systems is Good for Universal Education. China is a large agricultural country, and in the early postliberation period it had a population of 500 million, over 80 percent of which lived in rural areas. For this reason, the task of spreading education was mainly in the rural areas, but spreading rural education, in those times, meant resolving the matter of the children of the poor, lower, and middle peasants going to school. Comrade Shaoqi investigated the rural educational situation in Shandong and Jiangsu and discovered that nearly half of the schoolage children could not go to school, first because the nation could not operate that many day schools, and second, because the families could not support their children and bear the cost of tuition. It was even more difficult for families with many children. In a speech given in 1964, Comrade Shaoqi said, "What methods can we use to spread education and still have the nation and the family able to bear the cost? Only by operating farm-study and work-study schools in addition to existing day schools." Such schools can teach and produce, creating wealth for the nation and income for the school and the individual student, they require little or no government subsidy, and they greatly reduce the burden on the family. Comrade Shaoqi proposed that in the rural areas, not only agricultural junior middle schools but also agricultural middle-level technical schools be operated so that the children of peasants could learn more scientific knowledge and skills. He emphasized, "The more cultural knowledge, the greater the usefulness of the rural areas."

The question of universal education in the cities was mainly one of spreading middle school education, including raising the cultural and technical level of workers and staff members. Because of limitations on national financial and material resources, it was impossible to run a great many schools all at once. Comrade Shaoqi proposed that in large and medium-size cities, plants and enterprises operate middle technical schools and work-study programs to

train workers in socialist consciousness, cultural and scientific knowledge, and practical vocational skills. Cities with the proper conditions also could open work-study universities so that young people "would not rely on the state or their parents, and could study right up to graduation."

Comrade Shaoqi proposed that education adopt the policy of combining expansion and improvement--that day schools and work- (farm-) study schools be run together, with the task of the former improving and the task of the latter expanding. He hoped that implementation of the two kinds of educational systems could greatly accelerate the development of China's education, that "after a half-century, 70-80 percent of China's workers could reach the level of upper-middle or middle-level technical schools, and even some to university level, that half the peasants could reach the level of upper-middle or middle-level technical schools, that there would be great changes in China, and that the productivity of all labor would be greatly improved.

Second: Implementing two Kinds of Educational Systems Will Help to Resolve the Question of Youth Employment. Along with the development of middle and elementary education, the number of students has constantly increased, but the higher middle and technical schools cannot take all the beginning and higher middle school graduates who want to go on, and this has posed a problem of finding jobs for young people. In 1957 there were 1,299,000 graduates from ordinary middle schools (including beginning and higher middle school). Of this number, about 500,000 went on to higher education, but about 800,000 entered the labor force. These graduates of day middle schools generally lacked specialized knowledge or skills, did not have any vocational preparation, and were very unsuitable for the needs of work. Developing work- (farm-) study schools let students acquire some cultural and scientific knowledge on the one hand and get some vocational training on the other. This is a necessary condition for preparation for employment after graduation.

To resolve the question of youth's livelihood, in addition to reforming the educational system Comrade Shaoqi advocated reforming the present labor system. He thought that it would be very beneficial for the development of social production if industrial enterprises, especially those below the county level, in addition to recruiting some regular workers with higher technical qualifications, would recruit work- (farm-) study students as temporary workers and contract workers in order to open up some vocational opportunities to young people.

Third: Implementing two Kinds of Educational Systems can Create Conditions for Gradually Reducing the gap Between Physical Labor and Intellectual Labor. To eliminate the gap between physical labor and intellectual labor is a goal for the future and not something that can be realized in the near future or even within the socialist stage. However, to gradually reduce the gap between physical laborers and intellectual laborers can and should be done. Holding work- (farm-) study schools in plants, enterprises, and rural areas to combine education and productive labor, to combine physical labor and

Intellectual labor, is one effective method of reducing the gap between the two kinds of labor. Thus Comrade Shaoqi said in a speech, with regard to realizing the combination of physical labor and intellectual labor, "Let us not wait for future generations, but start with this generation. Right?"

Comrade Shaoqi also made some specific proposals about how to run work- (farm-) study schools. He advocated flexibility in the length of schooling, thinking that the years set for schooling should not be fixed but should allow study as long as necessary. He felt that there were two basic situations in combining study and labor: one of them was being able to combine specialized labor, and the other was being unable to combine specialized labor. Agricultural beginning middle schools exist mainly to cultivate labor perspectives and inculcate labor habits, as well as to study the curriculum of ordinary beginning middle schools appropriate to increasing common knowledge of nature, agricultural technology, the abacus, and book-keeping. Working time cannot be too lengthy, and the important things are the students' health and physical condition. As for teachers, some higher level and middle-level teacher training in industrial and agricultural work- (farm-) study should be operated to train teachers for work- (farm-) study schools. Conditions of study and labor should strive to support and assist high-level technical schools and higher level colleges, fully utilize nearby plants and state-run farms, and mobilize and rely on various professions and occupations in society for running the schools. To strengthen the leadership of this kind of school, he proposed that provinces and cities establish "second education offices (bureaus)" especially to manage work- (farm-) study education. Because carrying out this educational system is a new problem, he proposed a policy of "5 years of testing and 10 years of promotion" to avoid rushing in headlong only to fail because we wanted to go too fast.

III

Is it actually correct to have two kinds of educational systems in China? Were these educational ideas of Comrade Shaoqi's capitalist educational ideas? Practice is the sole criterion of truth, so let us answer these questions with the actual results produced by several years of testing the two educational systems!

After the Central Committee and Comrade Shaoqi proposed implementing two kinds of educational systems, work- (farm-) study schools and after-work cultural and technical schools made great progress. According to statistics for 1965, nationally there were over 61,600 work- (farm-) study schools (including agricultural middle schools and other vocational schools), with an enrollment of 4.43 million students. Of the students in middle-level schools nationally, 65.2 percent were in day schools, 31 percent were in agricultural middle schools and other vocational middle schools, and 3.8 percent were in various middle-level specialized schools and technical schools. The number of farm-study elementary schools reached 850,000 nationally, with 25.18 million students. In every place that operated this kind of school,

the question of peasants' children enrolling in school was basically solved, and in some areas school enrollment reached over 90 percent. The development of work- (farm-) study schools not only vigorously promoted the spread of education and formed a variety of preliminary stages of educational structures, but also made a useful contribution to raising the cultural and technical level of the workers and peasants and promoted the development of industry and agriculture.

First let us look at the situation in urban and plant-operated work-study middle-level technical schools:

Between 1958 and 1965 Tianjin started 125 work-study schools with an enrollment of over 24,400, which is an obvious accomplishment. For example, over half of the staff and workers of the light-sensitive film plant and the electronics instrument plant reached the cultural level of higher middle school. According to 1965 figures, 75.7 percent of the graduates over the years became workers, 4.1 percent became technicians or probationary technicians, 6.9 percent became laboratory cadres, .18 percent became technical instructors, and 13 percent did other work. Graduates who became skilled workers largely became the backbone of production and played a large role in improving technology, raising labor productivity, and strengthening and improving enterprise management.

The Shanghai Machine Technology School, started in 1951, is a work-study school which trains skilled workers. By 1964 it had graduated 3,980 persons. Students who graduated in the early period are largely the mainstays among production skilled workers, while a few have become model workers and advanced workers and some have gone on to become engineers, section chiefs or undertaken leadership and management work of production technology. This school has not only trained a large number of skilled workers, but it has also produced some new products, creating wealth for the nation and increasing the school's income. In 1958 it began to be completely self-sufficient, and the portion passed on to the state was nearly equal to the state's investment in the school since its founding.

The Harbin Municipal Spinning Plant's middle-level technical school is a combination work-study school and plant-school which began operation in 1964. After a short period of study and training, students have the necessary theoretical knowledge and vocational skills to assume production tasks directly. By the end of 1965, students accounted for 16 percent of the production personnel in this plant, and students with both ability and political integrity were chosen as group leaders and other leaders. In this way not only was a group of qualified skilled workers trained, but at the same time they were trained to participate in enterprise management.

Let us take a look at the rural farm-study schools.

The agricultural middle schools in Feicheng County, Shandong, are run very well. In 1961 only 25 percent of upper elementary school graduates in this

county went on to middle schools, but after the agricultural middle schools were started, the number who went on for more schooling increased year by year; by 1964 it had already reached 75 percent. The majority of the agricultural middle schools in this county are small-scale, scattered, and very flexible. The students "study in school, work in the brigade, and eat and sleep at home" so that the children of commune members can attend. The school emphasizes unity of study and practice, and education is to serve agricultural production. Thus it has earned the broad welcome and praise of the masses.

The Veterinary Medicine School of Zhaoyuan County, Heilongjiang, is in a wilderness. It started independently and was very difficult to build. From 1958 to the summer of 1964, a total of 195 graduates of one-, two-, and four-year programs were trained, providing the country with full-time veterinarians or part-time disease prevention personnel. Since these graduates have a certain amount of theoretical knowledge as well as some actual vocational skills, they have been heartily welcomed by the masses.

Jiangyin County, Jiangsu, started an agricultural middle school in 1958 and by 1965 had graduated nearly 5,000 persons, over 90 percent of whom are serving agricultural production and have played an active role on the agricultural front. The masses praise them: "Agricultural middle school, study and work, but when they have studied three years they are the most useful."

There are many such cases everywhere.

Because the work- (farm-) schools need less money, get good results, are flexible, and at the same time suit measures to local conditions, are good at spreading education, training talent, and promoting production, can create wealth for the nation, increase income for the plant, commune brigade, and school, and resolve the question of employment for young people, they satisfy the unit running the school, satisfy the school, satisfy the students, and satisfy the parents. Thus the initiative for running schools at the time was very high in various departments and various places, and the situation was a very good one. Of course, it should be noted that when testing the two kinds of educational systems, there were certain unsuitable appraisals and propaganda with regard to their function and significance, and in the process of operating work- (farm-) study schools, there was also simpleness and roughness. These questions involved shortcomings in understanding and work and not defects in the two kinds of educational systems themselves.

Looking back on the two kinds of educational systems, we have reason to believe that if, at the time, we had gone on according to the arrangements of the Central Committee and the recommendations of Comrade Shaoqi, China's education might have been more widespread and improved, the educational system would have been reformed, the educational structure would have achieved an appropriate balance, and we could gradually grope our way to a new educational system suited to China's circumstances. Unfortunately,

history took a very tortuous path and Comrade Shaoqi encountered a political frameup and personal persecution, and the testing of the two kinds of educational systems was suspended along with it. The work- (farm-) study schools were almost wiped out, leaving an educational system which is incomplete, educational structures which are very irrational, a seriously maladjusted proportion of universal education and vocational education, and a difficult situation whereby there is a gross imbalance in the supply and demand of specialized talent and the labor force. This is one of the serious evil consequences of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and is a painful lesson which we should remember. Today we cherish the memory of Comrade Shaoqi and his historical achievements, and from the two kinds of educational systems that he initiated we should summarize and absorb some things which are still useful under the new conditions and use them to define the educational planning and educational system suited to the needs of national economic development, so that education can better serve the four modernizations.

8226

C50: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

DEPARTMENT HEADS AT SHANGHAI UNIVERSITY GIVEN NEW ROLES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Apr 80 p 1

[Article: "What Role Should the General Party Branch at Department Levels Play in Higher Educational Institutions? In the Experience of Shanghai Normal University, It Plays the Role of Guaranteeing Supervision"]

[Text] At present, institutions of higher learning commonly operate under a system whereby school principals, under the leadership of party committees, share work and responsibilities. But what role should the general party branches at department level play? At Shanghai Normal University, department levels have put into practice a system whereby department directors take the leadership role, while the general party branch at department level plays the role of guaranteeing supervision. Experience has proven this method to be advantageous to the affirmation and improvement of party leadership.

At the beginning of 1979, after Shanghai Normal University put into practice the system of dividing work and responsibilities among school principals under the leadership of the party committee, the party committee realized that the system of leadership of the general party branch at department level was not in accord with the system of the division of work and responsibilities among school principals under the leadership of the party committee because, although department directors were under the leadership of the school principal, they were also directly under the leadership of the general party branch at department level. After the school principal assigned work to department directors, the department would have to obtain approval from the general party branch in order to carry out the assignment thoroughly, and the general party branch could at times veto the principal's decisions. With the general party branch determining the work of the departments, the department directors were often placed in a passive position which was not conducive to bringing into full play their effectiveness as specialists. For this reason, in the second half of 1979 the party committee, after a great deal of fermentation, unified their thinking and step by step changed the leadership of the general party branch at departmental levels leadership by department directors; the general party branch took the role of guaranteeing supervision, and at the same time regulations were formulated.

Following the implementation of the system of leadership of the departmental directors, each department adjusted its leading group. On the one hand, the group of the general party branch was thus made sharp and capable, while on the other hand the administrative group was strengthened.

The primary responsibilities of the general party branch at department level are: to educate all party members of the department to play the exemplary role of vanguards, to educate party branches to play the role of combat fortresses, and to perform well the task of ideological politicizing among all department members in order to ensure the thorough implementation of all general and specific policies of the party, resolutions of the party committee, and decisions of the department directors and principals. Through such means as participation in the business meetings of department directors and individual exchanges of ideas, the secretary of the general party branch at department level is able to understand the situation and coordinate the work. When disagreements arise, he can bring them before the administrative body of the department. He can also report them to the party committee of the school, but he does not have the power to veto administrative decisions.

The initial advantages of changing the leadership of the general party branch at department level into leadership by department directors at Shanghai Normal University have already become evident. For one, the change has safeguarded the system of dividing work and responsibilities among school principals under the leadership of the party committee, and it has enabled the system of administrative control over the entire school as headed by the school principal to fully exercise its authority and function and thereby improve work efficiency. A second advantage is that the general party branch at department level has altered the laissez-faire situation found in administrative affairs. Every general party branch commonly states that they now have time to penetrate deeper into their party branches to discuss work, develop discussion activities, and proceed with the education of party members. A third advantage is that the functions of department directors and other specialists are now given full play and their enthusiasm is greater than ever before.

9519

CSO: 4500

POST, TELECOMMUNICATIONS CORRESPONDENCE PROGRAM SET UP

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Apr 80 p 1

[Article: "Post and Telecommunications System Actively Restoring and Developing Correspondence Courses"]

[Text] High-level post and telecommunications correspondence courses of the post and telecommunications system were rapidly restored during the past year. Throughout China medium-size and larger cities established post and telecommunications networks for post and telecommunications correspondence courses. At present, the number of students in these schools has reached 1,700.

The post and telecommunications correspondence courses of the country plan to enroll 3,000 students this year; the work to solicit students has already begun. In order to ensure the quality and quantity of entering students, during the latter half of last year the post and telecommunications departments in every area successively organized advanced preparatory correspondence courses, attended by about 8,000 people, to review high school mathematics and physics coursework as a foundation for effecting smoother progress in matriculating students.

After the "gang of four" was smashed, post and telecommunications departments did a great deal of work toward resuming high-level correspondence courses, which had been coercively suspended for more than 10 years. Since conducting unified national examinations in 1979, 22 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions have matriculated more than 1,000 high-level post and telecommunications correspondence students having a high school education. At the same time, they set up four specialized degrees in the automation of microwave communications, telex communications, telephone circuitry, and postal communications.

In order to strengthen the educational work of correspondence courses and to guarantee the quality and quantity of the talented individuals trained, post and telecommunications departments obtained permission from the State Council and established the Beijing Institute of Post and Telecommunications Correspondence Courses as the national center for post and telecommunications correspondence education. The primary responsibilities of the center are

to formulate instruction plans and outlines for advanced post and telecommunications courses, to organize and compile teaching materials, to train teachers, and to guide educational organizations giving correspondence courses to establish standard teaching procedures at every level. At the same time, the Post and Telecommunications Department established two correspondence course departments--at the Changchun Post and Telecommunications Institute and the Nanjing Post and Telecommunications Institute--and 30 correspondence course sections and 95 correspondence course training stations in the post and telecommunications management bureaus of every province, municipality and autonomous region.

In order to stimulate the enthusiasm of post and telecommunications workers to participate in correspondence courses, the Post and Telecommunications Department gives full attention to solving the problems of educational background, and of utilization of the correspondence training of the graduates of the correspondence programs. The "Regulations Concerning Postal and Telecommunications Correspondence Programs," distributed as early as 1963 clearly stipulate. "Graduates of post and telecommunications correspondence programs possess the same educational background as graduates in the same specialized field from post and telecommunications academies." In "Concerning Trial Methods for the Management of Technical Work Titles of Post and Telecommunications Workers" and in "Enforcement Methods for an Overall Change in Work Titles of Technical Cadres in Post and Telecommunications Projects," distributed during the past 2 years, similar regulations have been repeated. At present, the majority of post and telecommunications enterprises have thoroughly implemented these rules at every level. In working to restore work titles in 1978, the Post and Telecommunications Management Bureau of Hunan Province, after verifying exams, simultaneously conferred work titles of engineer or technician upon 23 graduates of high-level correspondence programs, completed before the Great Cultural Revolution.

9519

CSO: 4005

SCIENTISTS APPEAL FOR RETURN TO REAL JOBS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 80 p 2

[Newsletter by XINHUA reporter: "Let Scientists Be Liberated From Too Many Conferences and From Holding Too Many Jobs"]

[Text] Recently at various conferences, journalists heard a number of scientists say that nowadays they have no time to carry out scientific research work because of too many concurrent jobs, conferences, and social activities. They eagerly hope that those concerned will treat this problem in earnest and liberate them from conferences, concurrent, jobs and unnecessary social activities. They appealed for scientists to return to laboratories, jobs, and work stations in order to realistically carry out the policy of "five-sixths."

At the Second National Congress of the Chinese Scientific and Technological Association, the vice president of the Chinese University of Science and Technology, Yang Chengzong [2799 2110 1350], spoke with laughter: I have become "Conference Yang." This is not a good name but a criticism. Last year alone I spent 9 months away attending conferences. Before one conference came to an end, another began elsewhere. Small wonder that teachers and students disagree. Yang Chenzong said that attending conferences was an enormous burden that needed to be resolved urgently.

The prominent chemist Lu Jiaxi [4151 0857 6932] also raised similar questions at the Interdisciplinary Conference of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. He said: "I have five excesses: excess in conferences, concurrent jobs, reviewing manuscripts, manuscript drives, and photograph-taking." He estimated that he has 36 or 37 concurrent jobs alone, and conferences are certainly numerous. "Even if I attend only one-fifth of the conferences, nothing could be accomplished!" Lu Jiaxi is the director of the Chinese Academy of Sciences' Fujian Institute of Research on the Structure of Materials, vice president of Fuzhou University, deputy director of the Chemistry and Chemical Engineering Society of Fujian Province, and concurrently editorial board member of over 10 publications, including ZHONGGUO KEXUE [SCIENTIA SINICA], KEXUE TONGBAO [BULLETIN OF SCIENCE], and HUAXUE TONGBAO [CHEMICAL BULLETIN]. There are numerous conferences to attend and scientific reports to review.

Because he is "famous," quite a number of newspapers and publications invite him to contribute and even ask him to push for manuscripts...but "I have only 24 hours a day!"

Lu Jiaxi was very vexed when he talked about taking photographs. He said that taking photographs does not take up too much time, but it is difficult for someone to withstand pressure from various influential sources. Those from the pictorials, trade unions, publications, and the newspapers all insisted that taking photographs was absolutely necessary and "very important," going so far as to arrange sessions at several laboratories and at home. There was an entire day in March which he spent not doing anything but taking photographs.

Other scientists, particularly the prominent ones, have also encountered similar circumstances which they regard as a big "nuisance."

Lu Jiaxi and several other scientists suggested:

1. It is necessary to distinguish honorary duties (nominal jobs) from duties that are actually performed (real jobs). If it is nominal it must be definitely nominal, without having to attend conferences or perform any tasks. If it is "real" it must be definitely "real" and be earnestly responsible. That which is "nominal" should not be treated the same as that which is "real," or vice versa.
2. It is unsuitable for the nominal duties of a scientist to be excessive. He should have not more than three real jobs, most desirably with terms of 3 to 5 years each. Those who are under age 60 can be reelected for consecutive terms; those over 60 or 65 should serve only one. In this way, "running water is never stagnant," and all organizations can be constantly infused with new blood.
3. Propaganda toward scientists should be practical and realistic and serve a distinct purpose. Exaggerating, advocating and conducting unsuitable propaganda should be opposed.

The number of scientists in our country is still small. They bear the responsibility of scaling the heights of science and technology, and contribute their ability and wisdom to the four modernizations. They also bear the responsibility of training qualified personnel and widening their ranks. To treasure their time and fully develop their expertise is a question that deserves immediate attention.

9586

CSO: 4005

CONFUCIUS' PLACE IN CHINESE HISTORY REEVALUATED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 80 p 3

[Article: "Confucius and the Chinese Culture"]

[Text] The 1980 No. 2 issue of ZHONGGUO SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CHINA] published Li Zehou's [2621 3419 0624] "Confucius Reappraised," which put forth new views on the issue of evaluating Confucius.

The author considers the Spring and Autumn-Warring States period to be a transition from early to developed stages of the slave system, a period in which the social structure of the system of clan rule and communal society disintegrated. The rites of Zhou represented the order of the early slave system, which preserved a great deal of primitive democratic and populist character. In this period of upheaval and change, Confucius clearly stood on the side of conservatism and backwardness. The political and economic program he proposed was conservative and out of keeping with the times. His defense of the rites of Zhou was conservative, backward, and even reactionary. However, he opposed cruel exploitation and oppression, and emphatically demanded the preservation and revival of the contrasting kindly ancient system of clan rule that had a democratic and populist character. The Confucian tradition of clan democracy, primitive humanitarianism, and pursuit of individual moral character also carried a spiritual legacy of rationalist elements.

In the opinion of the author, "benevolence" as expounded by Confucius was intended as an explanation of "rites," and was directly related to the preservation of "rites." The demand to safeguard or revive the system of clan rule is the basic objective of "benevolence." The Confucian teaching of benevolence came about in the period of the collapse of the early slave system and the thorough disintegration of clan rule. It undoubtedly carried the heavybrand of class (clan and aristocracy) of the time. The Confucian teaching of benevolence possessed considerable distinctive structure of thought pattern and cultural mentality. It was formed by four factors: (1) blood relationships; (2) psychological principles; (3) humanitarianism; and (4) individual character. Its overall characteristic is "pragmatic rationalism." What this so-called pragmatic rationalism first referred to was a kind of rational spirit or rational attitude. This kind of rationalism

possessed the characteristic of extreme concern for reality and pragmatism. It did not theoretically seek, discuss, or argue insoluble philosophical problems, but emphasized how to handle them properly in real life. Through dissemination, edification, and education, the influence of the Confucian thinking of benevolence spread in the course of time and finally became a phenomenon of a kind of unconscious collective prototype of the Han nationality, forming a kind of national culture--the psychological makeup. It was definitely not by chance that Confucius almost became synonymous with Chinese culture. Only by having a firm grasp of this culture--the psychological makeup--can certain characteristics of Chinese philosophical thought be understood more accurately.

The author maintains that regardless of the failure of his political career at that time, Confucius succeeded in establishing or molding this kind of national culture--the psychological makeup. His ideology created an enormous impact on the Chinese nation difficult to match by any other school of thought. It appears that herein lies Confucius's place and significance in the history of China.

9586

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INTELLECTUALS PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Guo Xuehua [6753 1331 5478]: "Lenin Attached Major Importance to the Role of the Intellectuals in Socialist Construction"]

[Text] During the period of socialist construction, the issue of how the function of intellectuals can be given full play is extremely important. This issue is related to the prosperity and development of the socialist economy and culture as well as to the successful building of a strong modern socialist state.

Lenin placed great importance on the role of intellectuals in socialist construction. He said: If we are to build, upon a foundation of socialist and large-scale machinery production, a socialist economic system and work production at a higher rate than those of the capitalist countries, we must have modern cultural and scientific technology and a team of first-class specialist who can put to use this advanced technology. "Without the guidance of specialists who have acquired various branches of knowledge, techniques and experience, it will be impossible to make the transition to socialism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 3, p 501) Therefore, the assimilation of a large number of intellectuals and specialist nourished during the old Russian era, and the organization and guidance of these intellectuals to participate in socialist construction and in the restoration and development of the cultural enterprise, became a very necessary and urgent task of the Soviet state.

However, Lenin's correct opinion encountered opposition from "leftist communists" and anarchists who, proceeding from the standpoint of ultra-leftists, declared that the working class must "totally break with the old culture," and they attacked Lenin and the Bolshevik party for "vacillation," "compromise" and "surrender" in dealing with the intellectual issue. The "leftist communists" openly opposed the absorption of scientists and scholars to participate in construction. Anarchists cried out that the specialists be forced to work under the gun, etc. Lenin refuted these preposterous ideas many times both in the party and at the meetings of Soviet representatives. Lenin pointed out: "Capitalism only gives culture

to a minority of people, but we must use culture to build socialism. We have no other materials." Lenin recognized that our guns could only be used to suppress the landlord bourgeoisie, and that they absolutely could not be used against scholars and scientists who cherished production and had a thorough knowledge of official business. It would be more correct to absorb such people broadly and fully into the cause of serving socialism.

Initially, many intellectuals assumed a hostile and uncooperative attitude toward the Soviet regime and even resisted socialism with slow-down tactics. Lenin and the Soviet regime exposed them mercilessly, putting down their resistance and sabotage. At the same time, Lenin held tenaciously to the correct general policy of uniting the majority of the intellectuals. After several years of hard work, quite a number of intellectuals were actively participating in socialist economic construction, cultural education and scientific research work. Lenin enthusiastically called upon intellectuals and workers to "work together hand in hand in a comradely manner." He said: "Up against the alliance of science, the proletariat and technology, no sort of dark influence can gain a foothold." (Complete Works of Lenin," vol 31, p 368)

What ought to be done in order to truly bring into play the role of intellectuals in socialist construction? Lenin resolutely advocated that the task of guiding national economic construction and scientific work must rely on professionals and specialists. Leadership must come from "people who have plenty of experience and comprehensive scientific knowledge." Lenin solemnly criticized educational departments for their incompetence in discovering specialists and in placing them in appropriate leading posts, and for their inability to study with specialists the inclination toward the practical undertakings of Soviet construction. He said: "To measure the work achievements of party members in national educational departments (and organizations), look first to their performance in assimilating the specialists." ("Complete Works of Lenin," vol 32, p 114-115) In the "Guidance from the Central Committee to Party Members and Workers of the Commission of Education of the People" drafted by Lenin, it was pointed out: Educational departments must systematically incorporate specialists to "take local and particularly central positions of responsibility. Without the conclusions of these specialists and their constant participation, we cannot enforce any of the important measures." (Ibid. p 110-111)

In order to raise the scientific and cultural level of all the people throughout Russia, Lenin often emphasized the role of the people's teachers. He said: If we do not elevate the position of people's teachers, we cannot bring ourselves to talk about any type of culture. "We should raise the teachers of the people to a level unheard of previously and to a level which does not exist, or cannot exist, in capitalistic societies; this is a truth which does not require verification." In order to achieve this goal, we ought to raise their ideological awareness unceasingly and, "most important of all, raise the level of their material living conditions." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, p 677-678)

Lenin educated the party and Soviet workers to take care of all specialists who worked earnestly and knew their profession well the same way they should "take care of their eyes," and to do as much as possible to improve the specialists' working and living conditions. In 1921, Lenin personally signed the decision "Concerning the Guarantee of Working Conditions for Academician Yi-Bi-Bafuluofu [phonetic] and the Personnel Working with Him in Scientific Projects" of the People's Committee,' he also approved that relevant departments should provide the laboratory and dormitory of Academician Bafuluofu with the best facilities and publish his scientific works. Lenin's policy of placing great importance on the role of the intellectuals encountered a boycott and censure from some people. Lenin was extremely outraged by this resistance. He seriously criticized these people, "...in appearance, they are radical; in reality, they are conceited due to ignorance;" he asked the "banishment of those Communist Party members who, lacking proper judgment, easily drive out specialists."

Precisely due to the guidance of Lenin's policy on intellectuals, during the early period of the founding of Soviet Russia intellectuals played their due role in socialist economic construction, cultural education and scientific research work, and they made remarkable achievements.

Lenin's incisive argument concerning the issue of intellectuals and the splendid implementation of his policies should naturally become the guiding ideology of our Party in the correct treatment of intellectuals. The deplorable thing is that due to the influence of leftist thought, we did not, for a long time, act as Lenin had instructed, especially during the 10 years of ferment when the promoters of the extreme leftist line advocated such nonsense as the more leftist the ideology, the more revolutionary; the poorer the economy, the higher the honor; the more knowledgeable, the more reactionary. The broad mass of intellectuals suffered especially heavy disasters which resulted in an irrecoverable loss to our scientific, cultural and socialist construction. Only after the "gang of four" was smashed was there a fundamental, step by step change in the general policy of the treatment of intellectuals. We now definitely recognize that intellectuals are part of the working class and that scientific technology is a productive force.

Today, as we review Lenin's instructions, we especially feel warm-hearted. Yet, in order to completely and consistently carry out Lenin's instructions and the party's general and specific policies, we still have to overcome all kinds obstacles and continue to criticize and eradicate the pernicious influence of leftist thought and the ultraleftist line on the issue of the treatment of intellectuals.

9519
CSO: 4005

IMPORTANT ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN NEW CHINA DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by Shen Peiyan (3088 1014 6056) of Tsinghua University: "The Class Nature and Class Designation of Intellectuals"]

[Text] On the question of dealing with intellectuals, for a long time since liberation there has been a "leftist" tendency. Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, the Party Central Committee had made several corrections of errors. However, after each correction it very quickly reverted back. Therefore there has never been a truly successful correction, so that eventually it was pushed to extremes by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," causing intellectuals to suffer unprecedented devastation, and thus causing extremely great damage to the socialist revolution and to the socialist construction undertaking.

Why is it that for a long time there has been a "leftist" tendency on the issue of dealing with intellectuals that has been very difficult to correct? There are various reasons. Nevertheless, in terms of understanding the issue, one of the major reasons is that the question of the class nature and class designation of intellectuals in the old society has not been clarified. Thus their class designation has been confused with their class nature, and the significance of the actual class nature of intellectuals has been fundamentally negated.

The Class Nature and the Class Designation of Intellectuals Are Two Different Problems

The article by three comrades, Tong Dalin (4547 1129 2651), Wu Minyyu (0702 2494 3842), and Bao Tong (7637 1749), "Notes on the Problem of Intellectuals," has repeatedly discussed and proven that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals belong to the working class. This represented major progress in the theoretical clarification of the issue of the class nature of intellectuals. However, that article failed to analyze and discuss a fact that existed in the old society, which is that the class designation and class nature of intellectuals, in terms of their characteristics, were not completely one and the same. Therefore that essay unavoidably exaggerated the problem in some areas, which in turn has affected

the results which the article has had in the area of resolving the problem of the class nature of intellectuals. Therefore, with regard to the class nature of intellectuals in the old society, it is necessary for us to discuss this issue simultaneously with the issue of their class designation.

Class nature refers to the position occupied by an individual in the structure of the social economy, and is determined by the primary source of livelihood of the individual. Class designation, on the other hand, refers to the class viewpoint and political attitude of the individual. In the case of intellectuals, it is determined by the question of whom they serve. For people in general, class designation is determined by class nature. Therefore the characteristics of the two are similar, and there is no need to delineate between class nature and class designation. The situation with intellectuals, however, is different. Particularly under the conditions in the old society, most intellectuals in terms of their class nature belonged to the working class or to the other laboring classes. In terms of class designation, however, they belonged to the bourgeoisie or to the other exploiting classes. Thus there is a great discrepancy, even opposition, between the two in terms of character. Therefore if, on the issue of intellectuals, we examined only one singular facet of their class nature or their class designation, partiality would arise and would lead to the erroneous tendencies of being either rightist or "leftist."

Although the founders of Marxism-Leninism have not made a concentrated, clear discussion of the issue of the class nature and class designation of intellectuals, in some of their relevant writings we have been provided with an adequate basis for the understanding of these two problems. In "Das Kapital," in discussing "manifestations of capitalism in the realm of nonmaterialistic production," Marx suggested an example as follows: "In schools the relationship between the teachers and the school bosses may be purely one of hired labor. There are many such educational factories in England. Although to the students these teachers are not production workers, they are nevertheless production workers to the bosses who employ them. The boss employs his capital in exchange for the labor force of teachers, and through this process makes a fortune for himself. The same method is used by the bosses of theaters and places of entertainment in order to get rich. In such cases, to the audience the actors are artists, but to the masters of their enterprise they are production workers." This example illustrates that many intellectuals in bourgeois society occupy the same position as production workers, in that they are hired laborers. They participate in the production of surplus value and are exploited by capitalists. This undoubtedly is the most authoritative scientific foundation for our understanding of the class nature of intellectuals. The "Resolution of the Administrative Council of the Central People's Government on the Drawing of Class Lines in the Countryside" in 1950 said: "The class nature of the intellectual himself is to be determined on the basis of the principal means of livelihood attained by the individual

himself"; "all people who are employed by the state, by the cooperatives, or by private organizations, enterprises, and schools, who are functionaries therein, and who obtain wages as the major or total source of livelihood, are to be known as staff personnel. Staff personnel are a part of the working class"; "all intellectuals with specialized technical ability who are employed by the state, cooperatives, or private organizations, enterprises, schools and so on, who undertake mental labor, and who obtain high wages as the principal or as their total source of livelihood --such as engineers, professors, experts and so on--are to be known as high-level staff personnel whose class nature is similar to general personnel." This resolution is in total conformity with Marxism. By the terms of this resolution, a large number of intellectuals at that time, according to their class nature, ought to have belonged to the working class. However, this accurate resolution was unable to prevent the development of "leftist" tendencies on the issue of dealing with intellectuals. Moreover, in the minds of the people it seemed as if this resolution was abolished even before it was promulgated. Why did this happen? One of the reasons was that the problem of the people's understanding of the class designation of intellectuals was not resolved. This is because the status of intellectuals cannot be made clear on the basis of the concept of class status alone. At that time people saw that the class viewpoint and political attitude of many intellectuals were incongruous with, or even diametrically opposed to, the class status given to them on the basis of the resolution on the drawing of class lines. Therefore they doubted or even denied the accuracy of that resolution. This represented a unilateral approach, in which only class nature was emphasized whereas class status was abandoned.

The term "bourgeois intellectual" was almost equated with the term "bourgeois element" during the period when "leftist" tendencies were rife. Furthermore, it was very difficult for anybody who had once been a bourgeois intellectual to get rid of that label. That was considering "bourgeois intellectual" as class status. In fact, under normal conditions the term "bourgeois intellectual" does not indicate the class nature of intellectuals but only indicates their class designation. The basis for this argument can also be found in the writings of Marx and Lenin. In his "Letter to J. Weydemeyer," Marx said: "Long before me, bourgeois historians had already discussed the historical development of class struggle; bourgeois economists too have made economic analyses of the various classes." Clearly the bourgeois historians and economists whom Marx mentions here refer to bourgeois intellectuals. In the book "What Is To Be Done?" when he talked about the origins of the doctrine of socialism, Lenin said: "Socialism grew out of the philosophical, historical, and economic theory created by educated people--that is, intellectuals among the property classes." The "educated people among the landed classes" mentioned here refer principally to bourgeois intellectuals. These bourgeois intellectuals whom Marx and Lenin mention here are such, not because they possess capital or share surplus value, but rather because they take the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie and serve the interests of capitalist society. It is

not difficult to find examples in the writings of Marx and Lenin of situations in which intellectuals who are in capitalist society and who are exploited by capitalists nevertheless at the same time take the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie and serve the interests of capitalist society. Take the example cited in "Das Kapital" which we mentioned earlier; even though Marx affirmed on the one hand that they are hired laborers, on the other hand he described them only as teachers and artists, but did not say that they are necessarily proletarian teachers or proletarian artists, or in other words working class intellectuals. That is to say, they can be bourgeois educators and bourgeois artists, meaning bourgeois intellectuals. This is because education and art necessarily serve the interests of a certain class; there is no such thing as an educator or an artist who transcends class.

In the Old Society the Class Nature of Most Intellectuals Was Not the Same as Their Class Status

The problem of intellectuals to which we commonly allude refers to the problem of those people who undertake mental labor in order to obtain the principal source of their livelihood. Such people are all members of the working class or the petit bourgeoisie in terms of their class nature--that is, the laboring classes. Their class designation, however, is exactly the opposite; most of them belong to the nonlaboring classes. Why is this so? This is because in the old society, most intellectuals came from family backgrounds within the landed classes; among them a considerable number even came from the exploiting classes; and this cannot have failed to affect their class designation significantly. Furthermore, the nature of education in the old society was that all of it served the interests of the exploiting classes. Even the class standpoint and political attitude of those intellectuals who came from poor backgrounds could not help but be influenced by the character of such education. As Lenin said, "The reason that educated people obey the policies of the bourgeoisie and are influenced by the bourgeoisie is that they have acquired every bit of their education within a bourgeois environment." Moreover, historically, in order to realize its rule over the broad masses of the laboring people, no ruling class can separate itself from the role played by the intellectuals. Therefore they have always awarded intellectuals a social status above that of the general mental laborer. The saying "those who labor with their minds rule others, while those who labor with their physical strength are ruled by others" reflects precisely the dichotomy between mental and physical labor in the old society. Owing to these three factors--family background, character of education, and social influence--most intellectuals in the old society inevitably served the interests of the nonlaboring classes, and this gave rise to a situation in which there was a discrepancy between their class designation and their class nature. Therefore, when we examine the problem of intellectuals in the old society, we must not fail to give our attention to the existence of this situation. If we ignore, or even fundamentally deny, the existence of this situation, we will unavoidably give rise to rightist deviation.

In the old society there were, among the intellectuals whose class nature belonged to the working class, some whose class designation also belonged to the working class. This is because an individual's class standpoint and political attitude are not completely determined by his family background and the nature of his education; even social influence has two opposing sides to it. In an environment of violent class struggle, there are always people who are split from the ranks of the exploiting classes and are transferred to the exploited classes. This is precisely the reason that the creators of Marxism-Leninism became proletarian intellectuals. After the creation of Marxism-Leninism, as a result of its huge educational effect, it became possible for more and more intellectuals to rebel against the standpoint of the exploiting classes or to shake themselves loose from the influence of the exploiting classes and join the camp of the laboring classes. Therefore, when we examine the problem of intellectuals in the old society, we must also pay attention to this situation. If we do not pay attention to this situation, we will give rise to "leftist" deviation.

Our analysis is that in the old society, of the intellectuals whose class nature was that of the laboring classes, their class designation fell into one of two different situations--they belonged either to the exploiting classes or to the laboring classes. Those who belonged to the exploiting classes were in the majority; those who belonged to the laboring classes made up a very small minority. This shows that the nature of society plays a critical role in determining the class designation of intellectuals. The source of this determining role lies in the ruling effect of the ruling class. However, this ruling effect cannot prevent the inevitable phenomenon of splitting during the process of class struggle. Therefore, in the old society there were bound to be a minority of intellectuals who did not serve the interests of the old society; and the creation of a minority of reactionary intellectuals in the new society becomes no longer inexplicable.

In old China, since the nature of society was that of a semicolonial, semifeudal society, the principal social contradiction was sometimes the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation. Therefore, the class designation of intellectuals displayed a relatively complicated situation: an extremely small minority belonged to those reactionary intellectuals who served the interests of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism heart and soul; the overwhelming majority belonged to those bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals who were anti-imperialist and patriotic but who served the interests of the landed classes; among those intellectuals who served the interests of the landed classes there was a part which split off and became proletarian intellectuals. This last segment of the intellectuals began as a very small minority, but grew larger and larger with the progress of the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. This segment of intellectuals belongs to the most advanced section of the working class in China.

After the founding of new China, since the nature of society underwent fundamental transformation, the bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals who originally served the interests of the landed classes also had to be transformed to become intellectuals who serve the interests of the proletariat--that is, become working class intellectuals. That it is possible for such a transformation to take place is first of all because they belong, in terms of their class nature, to the laboring classes; a considerable number among them even belong to the working class. Secondly, it is because of the weakness and double-sidedness of the national bourgeoisie which formed the social basis for bourgeois intellectuals in the old China. However, this transformation requires a gradual process, because people's social ideology often lags behind their social existence. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for our party to adopt a policy of unity, education, and transformation with regard to intellectuals.

Owing to the correct implementation of the policy of unity, education, and transformation of intellectuals, generally speaking, by the end of the Five Major Movements in the early stages after the founding of the country, a rather large number of those bourgeois and petit bourgeois intellectuals in our country who came over from the old society had already become working class intellectuals. This is because, throughout and since the Five Major Movements, politically they have generally been able to draw very clear lines between the enemy and ourselves, and have clearly stood on the side of the working class and the laboring people; in ideology they have generally been able to draw clear lines between labor and exploitation and have overcome the idea of looking down on mental laborers; in actions, too, they have generally been able to carry out their own tasks with self-motivation and activism, and have served the interests of socialism and the people.

Naturally, the transformation of the class designation of intellectuals who have come over from the old society in such a way as to make them belong to the working class is an uneven process. This process cannot be complete until the social basis of bourgeois intellectuals--that is, the bourgeoisie as a class--no longer exists. However, since in terms of class nature the intellectuals belong to the working class or to other laboring classes, the process of transformation or the majority of intellectuals into working class intellectuals cannot be equated with the process of the elimination of the bourgeoisie, but ought to be considerably shorter than this latter process. To deny this is to deny the significance of the class nature of intellectuals and to underestimate the directing effect which the nature of society has on the determination of the class designation of intellectuals. This precisely is the source of understanding which gives rise to "leftist" deviation on the issue of intellectuals.

The Majority of Intellectuals in Our Country Today Belong to the Ranks of the Most Advanced Segment of the Working Class

Among the intellectuals in our country today, with the exception of a small minority which have come over from the old society, the rest have

all been cultivated in the new society. Among the intellectuals who have come over from the old society, some were working class intellectuals to begin with, and among the remainder, a majority, following the transformation of the nature of the society and the implementation of the party's policy of unity, education, and transformation, have been transformed from their original status as bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals and have become working class intellectuals. As for those intellectuals who are cultivated in the new society, the overwhelming majority of them--no matter whether in terms of their family background, the character of the education they have received, or the factor of social influence--can only be working class intellectuals. Therefore the estimate that the Central Committee has made--that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals in our country today are part of the working class--is entirely accurate. The overwhelming majority of intellectuals in our country today are an entirely reliable, dependable force in our carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

However, there are still some comrades who do not draw any distinction between class nature and class designation for intellectuals in the old society and who confuse class designation with class nature; moreover, they do not recognize the critical effect that the nature of society has on the determination of class designation, and they cannot see the transformation in the class designation of intellectuals that accompanies the transformation in the nature of society. Therefore they find inexplicable the correct estimate made by the Central Committee--that the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals in our country today are part of the working class. Ideologically they do not yet accept the fact that the majority of intellectuals are part of the working class, and even if they did reluctantly acknowledge that, they still think of them as the most backward part of the working class. This demonstrates that the "leftist" deviation has not been completely eliminated. They believe that those intellectuals who came over from the old society, and whose class designation belonged to the bourgeoisie, are bourgeois elements who are intellectuals, and their transformation appears to be even more difficult than that of capitalists, because while the means of production belonging to capitalists can be confiscated, there is no way to confiscate the knowledge possessed by the bourgeois intellectuals. Furthermore, they believe that since the intellectuals in the new society have been largely educated by these bourgeois intellectuals, it cannot be said that the overwhelming majority among them are working class intellectuals. In order to prove the accuracy and validity of their argument, they even speak of the shortcomings and mistakes occurring among intellectuals as evidence that their world view remains fundamentally unchanged.

The most authoritative argument against such "leftist" viewpoints is that of social practice. In the last two decades or so, the intellectuals in our country have undergone three major ordeals: the first is the expansion of the antirightist struggle; the second is the 3 years of hardship; and the third is the decade during which Lin Biao and the "gang of four"

caused great devastation and catastrophe to the country and the people. With regard to these three major ordeals, the overwhelming majority among the intellectuals have turned in very good performances. First of all, they have not been shaken in their patriotic standpoint; secondly, they have upheld and supported the leadership of the Communist Party; thirdly, they have held true to the faith that only socialism can save China; and fourthly, they have unflinchingly employed their own professional expertise to serve the interests of socialist construction. This begs the question: Can this be done by nonworking class intellectuals? Can such intellectuals be said to be the most backward part of the working class? As for the arguments that their world view has not been fundamentally transformed, these can only refer to the fact that among a considerable number of intellectuals there is still some individualism and idealism. We ought to perceive that this is indeed a problem which continues to exist in the world view of intellectuals, and it must be resolved by strengthening the work of ideological transformation. However, in deciding whether or not there has been a fundamental change in the world view of intellectuals, our standard must be whether or not the most fundamental problems in their world view have been resolved, and not whether or not all the problems in their world view have been resolved. The most fundamental question in the world view of intellectuals is the question of whose interests they serve--that is, the question of class standpoint and political attitude. As mentioned above, this problem has long been resolved. As for other problems of world view, even members of the Communist Party, who are the vanguard of the working class, cannot claim to have completely resolved them. The transformation of a person's world view is a long-term task to which each individual must adhere. We cannot say that intellectuals do not belong to the working class or that they only count as the most backward part of the working class simply because they have yet to complete the task of transforming their world view.

Once we are free of the "leftist" point of view, we will be able to see clearly that as long as the intellectuals belong to the working class in terms of their class designation, the majority among them necessarily belong to the ranks of the advanced part of the working class; such was the case in the old society, and such is the case in the new society as well. Historically, Marxism-Leninism was created by working class intellectuals. The working class movement must be infused from without with Marxism-Leninism before it can avoid being directed onto the path of trade unionism, and this task of infusion can be accomplished only by working class intellectuals. From the viewpoint of the progress from socialism to communism, the elimination of the discrepancy between mental labor and physical labor can be achieved only by the substitution of intellectual labor for nonintellectual labor. Only in this way can labor productivity be greatly elevated and material products be made greatly abundant. We are now in a new historical era of realization of the four modernizations. The key to the four modernizations lies in the modernization of science and technology. In order to realize the four modernizations, the entire nation's level of science and education must be raised.

In the face of this historical task, intellectuals occupy a most important place. It is not that we now have too many intellectuals, but rather that we have too few; we need far more nonintellectuals to become intellectuals. Under such circumstances, placing working class intellectuals in the ranks of the most advanced part of the working class is by no means an artificial promotion but rather a historical necessity. Only by understanding and dealing with intellectuals in this way can intellectuals be made to come into full play in the construction of the four modernizations.

9138

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' CARRIES ARTICLES ON SOLVING URBAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

OW022105 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1146 GMT 1 Jun 80

[Text] Beijing, 1 Jun--RENMIN RIBAO began publishing a group of articles on its second page today discussing the solution of the urban housing problem. It also carried an editor's note that read: The urban housing problem is a great matter in the lives of people. To solve this problem more quickly and in a still better way in light of China's actual conditions requires serious discussion. This newspaper will publish a series of articles on this problem written by XINHUA reporter Bao Guangqian and will also publish relevant articles by other comrades. Our objective is to exchange views and promote urban housing construction.

The following is the first article in this group. It is entitled: "The State Must Not Take Care of Urban Housing Exclusively--First Discussion of the Issue of Solving the Urban Housing Problem." The text of the article follows:

For a long time in China the state has adopted the method of assuming full responsibility for the housing problems of urban staff members and workers, regarding housing construction and management as an undertaking of pure welfare and thus creating many problems for housing construction, maintenance and management.

Practice has proven that in a country with a large population and a rather weak material foundation like ours, it is impossible for the state to take exclusive responsibility for the housing problems of urban staff members and workers. In the past 30 years, tens of billions of yuan have been invested in urban housing construction. More than 590 million square meters of housing units have been constructed. While the area devoted to urban housing has nearly doubled that existing at the time of liberation, the population has increased 1.5 times. Because housing construction has grown slower than the population, the average per capita living space has declined since the early days after liberation. Housing construction developed relatively quickly in 1978 and 1979. The area of completed housing units was 100 million square meters, or a sixth of the total area of housing units completed throughout the country since liberation.

Nevertheless, during these 2 years the urban population rose by more than 10 million, or a fifth of the total urban population increase in the past 30 years. Although more housing units were built in 1979 than in other years, yet the average living space for the urban population throughout the country did not increase but was barely able to remain at the level of 3.6 square meters per person. The housing shortage was not alleviated.

From a long-term point of view, it is impossible for the state to take full responsibility for housing construction alone. According to estimates by comrades in the departments concerned, in the future the urban population will increase by about 5 million. Thus, by the end of this century, the urban population will reach 240 million, about 110 million more than the current population. If the average per capita living space reaches 8 square meters (a building area of 16 square meters), 3.2 billion square meters of new housing units will have to be built, or 5.4 times the housing units completed in the past 30 years. Investments will run as high as 385.5 billion yuan, an average of 18.36 billion yuan a year. Only relying on the state to provide this huge sum of money is simply impossible. If we take this road, it will take a long, long time to solve the problem of housing shortages for staff members and workers.

Comrades engaged in urban housing construction and housing property work have said that gratuitous distribution of housing units and willfully lowering house rents in disregard of the law of value seems to have increased welfare for the people. However, from the long-term point of view and from the viewpoint of the interests of the whole, it does not accord with the fundamental interests of the people if a simple reproduction in the form of housing construction cannot be maintained. To quickly solve the problem of urban housing shortage throughout the country, it is necessary to change the method of the state having the exclusive responsibility for housing construction and free distribution of housing units and to find a broader method. Some comrades have proposed that welfare work should be handled by the state and the collective and that housing construction and management departments should stop acting as welfare and charity organizations but should take the road of becoming an enterprise in order to expand housing construction to meet the urgent needs of the people. Other comrades have pointed out that each year the state allocates a huge sum of money for the construction and maintenance of housing units. This money is in fact a free subsidy for the masses. If this is so, it would be better to use it in wage increases for staff members and workers, because this money can be recovered by housing property departments through the sale and the renting of housing units. Then the money can be used for the construction and maintenance of more housing units. This will insure that housing construction and management will be undertaken in an enterpriselike manner.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COMMENTARY CALLS FOR MODERATING FUNERAL EXPENSES

OWO41133 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1158 GMT 3 Jun 80

[Report on RENMIN RIBAO 3 June short commentary: "Persist in Burial Reform"]

[Text] Beijing, 3 Jun--The RENMIN RIBAO 3 June short commentary says: Comrades Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi, proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, requested that their ashes be scattered over the mountains, rivers, lakes and seas of the motherland. Their thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of serving the people's interests and willingly dedicating everything they had should be emulated by us indeed.

This short commentary, entitled "Persist in Burial Reform," points out: It is the unshirkable responsibility of every Communist Party member--especially the leading cadres--to take the lead in burial reform and in transforming social traditions by proceeding from the people's interests. It is absolutely essential for us, the short commentary says, to somehow express our grief to a person, whether he is a state cadre or an ordinary man from among the masses, who toiled diligently for the people throughout his whole life but is now no longer with us. To those of us who are alive, however, the best form of mourning is to carry forward his behest by building up our country. If we make funeral arrangements in an extravagant and wasteful way--as is being done now in some places--and blindly turn a funeral into a big show which emphasizes the large number of people who attend, the wreaths that are received and the length of the services, it will consume enormous amounts of manpower and materials, will increase unnecessary burdens on the state and family members of the deceased, and affect work and production. This practice is therefore most undesirable.

The short commentary says: Our country has a large population and numerous cadres. A little waste incurred from each funeral arrangement would add up to tremendous losses. On the other hand, if some money can be saved from funeral arrangements, it can be used to do things that are beneficial to the people.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' DISCUSSES WRITERS' PORTRAYAL OF LIFE

HK091201 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 80 p 4

[Article by Dai Qing [2071 2532]: "It Is Impermissible To Portray Life With the Same Color--Debating With Comrade Xiao Lin"]

[Text] "Love Is an Unforgettable Thing," a short novel with minute description and profound meaning, makes a lasting impression on its readers. It tells about the love between a mother and her daughter. But, the author's real intention is to probe into the questions of how ethics, sentiments and ideals are related to society, how they exist in real life and how they can be raised to a higher level and become purer. In a recent article entitled "A Tentative Discussion on the Style of 'Love Is an Unforgettable Thing,'" Comrade Xiao Lin said with certainty that this novel was "weak and negligible in ideological character." He denounced the love between the hero and heroine of this novel as "insignificant, despicable, selfish and false." He came to the conclusion that this novel "has a low style" and "poeticizes dubious, immoral and unhealthy feelings." He seemed to be a bit lenient with the heroine, saying that she was "pardonable." But he held that it was "unreasonable" for the hero "to be unfaithful and forsake his wife without sufficient cause." Here, I recall a line from Mu Lu Xun's poem on a portrayal of himself: "I sacrifice myself by playing the part of a life companion so as to pay off the debts of 4,000 years." To our surprise, half a century after that, this line remains as the sketch for the love life of the hero in this novel. Why? What does this signify?

The hero of this novel is a nameless veteran cadre. He leads a harmonious and stable family life but his love life is unfortunate. One reason for this tragedy is that although he has a noble and pure character, in handling his marital problems he made an irretrievable mistake at the very beginning. Before he understood what love was, he made a choice which was doubtlessly wrong for himself and his wife. When he realized what true love was and when he felt that the one he loved was calling, he adhered to social morals and gave up his love. He could not bear to hurt his wife but at the same time could not help showing concern for the one he loved. He was torn by conflicting thoughts but did not have enough

strength and courage, even from his life's experiences and social status, to shake off the traditional concepts and social responsibility and create a marriage agreeable to social morals. Though unwilling, he had to experience the inevitable torture of being torn between marriage and love until the end of his life.

Doubtlessly, this is only a part of the revolutionary life of the hero in this novel and probably a negligible part according to the habits of the Chinese people. However, such an affair, such agony and such a tragedy happened rather commonly and in varying degrees to many families and many highly distinguished and respectable people. At the same time, in our society where the system of private ownership of the means of production has been abolished in the main and equal relationship established between one man and another, there still exist the ideas, such as money, family status and pleasure-seeking cherished by the bourgeoisie and the feudal and landlord classes in considering marriage. Under these circumstances, Comrade Zhang Jie, through her keen observation, proceeds from the angle of food, clothing and shelter (which are undoubtedly the most important) and goes deep into the social, moral and spiritual lives to examine the inner worlds of the hero and heroine. (With the progress in society, this has become more and more a problem which should not be overlooked.) She brings forward this problem which has been hidden or ignored for many years. Is this not a courageous and meaningful attempt whether viewed from the angle of literary and artistic creation or from the angle of sociology?

Comrade Xiao Lin drew this formula: Living together and sharing weal and woe for several decades engenders a deep affection, which must be that between husband and wife, that is, sexual love. In my opinion, this formula is near arbitrary assertion. In the novel "Love Is an Unforgettable Thing," the hero has lived harmoniously with his wife for several decades. As Xiao Lin said, this may have "engendered a deep affection." But, it is entirely possible that this kind of affection is not love. This is reflected not just by the fact that his wife cannot join him in appreciating Chekhov and the oboe (this of course is rather regrettable) but also by the fact that they do not understand each other although they have lived together and shared weal and woe. Examples of this kind can easily be found in real life. Yes, there is love as well as the soil in which it is rooted. However, love is completely different to people of different classes and status and with different life experiences just as one's thumb print is different from that of any other person. From this, it can be seen that love has no set formula and nothing substantial can represent its value. Often, love is something which you can feel and which inspires or tortures you. But, can you grasp it and foretell its coming? The love between the hero and heroine in this novel is an extreme case. But we will find this story true and credible if we link it with the people around us. That is why we say that even after a couple have lived together for a long time love may or may not be engendered.

Under the premise of recognizing this fact, I want to go into the deeper meaning of this novel. The hero does not love his wife but falls in love with another woman. In this situation, what is the moral thing for him to do--maintain his matrimonial relationship with his wife or break this relationship and establish a new one with his sweetheart? Comrade Xiao Lin quoted Engels on this question. In my opinion, in quoting a passage, we should let the readers know the whole concept as much as possible. Coming to the question of breaking up a marriage and moral standards, Engels said in his "Origin of Family, Private Ownership and the State": "The inseparability of a marriage is partly the result of the financial situation on which monogamy rests and partly a tradition left over from the time when the connection between this financial situation and monogamy was not correctly understood and was exaggerated by the church." Of course, this financial situation chiefly referred to the inheritance of property under private ownership. However, this law similarly has real significance even in our society today. The hero of this novel made his choice primarily because the man of the family sacrificed himself for the revolution. Who else would support his family? Marrying the daughter of this family would legalize this responsibility, which he was bound to shoulder. Of course, there also was the moral reason--he had deep class feelings for and was truly concerned about the deceased and the family of the deceased. So, they married and maintained the tie of husband and wife for several decades. Undoubtedly, he was the main financial pillar of this family. When the possibility of divorce appeared, the hero, as portrayed by this author, showed no hesitation. After considering the financial and moral aspects, he firmly refused to split the family which they had established. During the time and in the place mentioned by Engels, this concept stemmed from religion and tradition. In China, this chiefly originated from the feudal patriarchal concepts of the past centuries. This was in fact the moral foundation of the inseparability of marriage. Engels added: "Today, this inseparability has been sabotaged thousands of times. If a marriage is moral only when it is based on love, then a marriage is moral only when it continues to maintain love." Proceeding from this angle to analyze the marriage of our hero, we can see that in establishing and maintaining his family, he strictly adhered to ethics, duty and class feeling and this is moral. He gave his wife a good material life and gave her and the children a stable family life and social security. However, she could not win his love, the only thing on which a marriage in an ideal society is based. Therefore, from the angle of love, the marriage which he established and maintained was immoral. This phenomenon of the coexistence of morality and immorality exists objectively. Moreover, the balance between morality and immorality and the conditions for the balance differ according to human and geographical factors and continue to adjust and change along with the development of productive forces and the progress of society. This is the deeper meaning of this novel which I want to clarify.

So, we have understood the moral significance of a marriage without love. How should we handle such a marriage? Engels commented: "The persistence

of sexual love differs among individuals, especially among men. If one's affection has really died down or has been replaced by a new burning love, divorce becomes a blessing to both parties and to society." What Engels said was a criterion of an ideal society. The hero and heroine of the novel see clearly that it is impossible, especially for them, to achieve this end in our society today because such a marriage without love is not just established and maintained according to one's subjective wish, but is inevitably conditioned by the level of development of the productive forces and by the material base of society. Personal wishes and struggle often become pale and feeble under the siege of laws, morals and public opinion which are suited to social development. The government authorities and the people are incapable of taking mutual adoration as the only motive for a marriage. So they forsake their love to protect the stability of the social structure. Should love be described as "insignificant and despicable"? This is another point about love which I want to elaborate on.

Love is an unforgettable thing just as we have our ideals and aspirations in other matters. The author does not wish to frustrate the eager hope for a marriage based on perfect love. If we are making efforts to encourage people living in the socialist period--a period when the policy of to each according to work is carried out--to cherish communist ideas, why do we not let the readers see the vestiges of marriages based on economic conditions and feudal and patriarchal moral standards and lead young people to seek a marriage of true love? Such struggles and pursuits were ruthlessly suppressed by feudalism in the past centuries and during the 1920's and 1930's. Our probe into this question today should be above reproach. The hero of the novel was a cadre and a communist. We can see that in arranging the fates of the hero and heroine, the author feels very sad and has no other choice but to restrain himself and to be broadminded. The true love which they eagerly hope for is essentially different from the pleasure-seeking of those people who play fast and loose, possess something to exchange for something else, lead a dissipated and unrestrained life and do not observe customs and principles. Binding such people in a marriage without love has always been a waste of effort. I do not see what difference there is between the way the hero and heroine handled their love affair and the way Baoer and Lida handled theirs and what major mistake they made which resulted in a world of difference between the "proletariat" and the "petty-bourgeoisie and feudal literati and officialdom" as Comrade Xiao Lin said.

Comrade Xiao Lin began his article by pointing out that writers and their works "should portray rosy clouds of idealism on a canvas of imagination...." However, in our daily life, there is not just a "rosy" color. There are the blue skies, green trees, pure hearts (which are usually described as white), deep sorrow (which is portrayed as black) and fierce combat and burning love (which are red)... Innumerable incidents of joy, sadness, struggle and frustration make up our rich spiritual life. Only in the midst of a variety of colors will red become more dazzling and stir people's hearts. Is it to meet with people's wishes and is it logical for life itself to paint colorful lives in a simple and monotonous way?

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' LOOKS AT INFLUENCE OF POPULAR MUSIC

HK280348 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 80 p 5

[Article by Li Huanshi [2621 3562 0037]: "A Talk on 'Hit Songs' and Other Things"]

[Text] The daily increasing economic and cultural exchanges between our country and other countries and the introduction of pop music and "hit songs" from the West, Hong Kong and Taiwan into China in the past 2 years have had repercussions in our music life. This is a very natural phenomenon.

The so-called "hit songs" were developed from jazz which rose in the early 20th century. They are advertised as "hit songs" in bourgeois society because they have a large audience and fashionable "singers." This kind of music is not spread in concerts, but in bars, restaurants and night-clubs. Since pop music was introduced into China in the 1930's, pop songs such as "Express Trains" and "Peach Blossom River" with their semifeudal and semicolonial characteristics also appeared.

China was invaded by a formidable enemy and ruled by the fascist dictatorship of the KMT reactionary government in the 1930's. At that time, the people were looking forward to the independence of the state, the liberation of the nation and democracy for the people. During the new music movement led by the CCP, many revolutionary songs were produced. They reflected the wishes of the people, awakened thousands upon thousands of people who were unwilling to be slaves and united patriots of the whole nation to rise and struggle. These revolutionary songs were well received by the people in the tide of revolution. Contending with the decadent popular music at that time, they became a bugle call for marching toward a new age and an indispensable companion for people in their struggle. In those years, the pop music contaminated the people's will and made them indulge in luxuries, dissipation and debauchery until they totally disregarded the destiny of the mother country and the people's sufferings. Revolutionary music workers and patriotic and progressive young people have always opposed and despised decadent music.

With the passage of time and following the historical process of bourgeois society, pop music is also developing and changing. When young people who have been brought up in our country's socialist system come into contact with pop music, they are dazzled and find it "fresh and new" particularly after the smashing of the feudal cultural tyranny imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Those who were alive during the 1930's heard a lot of pop music. However, these songs are not the same as those from the past. Although pop music looks familiar, its appearance has changed. Today's "hit songs" are the same old things in a new form. Their contents and forms are diversified. We should not treat them all as decadent music, but we should draw a distinction between them.

Bourgeois pop music of course reflects the mental state and psychological conditions of the bourgeoisie. It simultaneously reflects the aesthetic standards and habits of people of a certain society. Specific styles of pop music reflect the sentiments of a certain social life. The so-called "hit songs" reflect only part of bourgeois society. We need to appreciate wholesome and lofty foreign music which can enrich our spiritual life, broaden our knowledge and widen our outlook. Foreign pop music which has a bad style, advocates love above everything and melancholy and reflects an abnormal psychology or even vulgar and bad taste is incompatible with the high-spirited and healthy social life and atmosphere which inspire us to march toward the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Our socialist times demand that music workers create more beautiful compositions which reflect the spirit of our great era and the people's mental attitude to satisfy the people's, and particularly the young people's, daily increasing needs for music.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' REVEALS POOR QUALITY OF OPERAS

HK310302 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 May 80 p 3

[Article by Qing Yuan [7230 0337]: "Some Phenomena of Stage Performances Which Merit Attention"]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four," implementing the party's principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and restoring the performance of traditional opera, a number of good and better traditional and historical operas have appeared on the stage and received the people's welcome. However, to attract audiences, certain performing groups in certain areas over the past year have only pursued sales in ticket offices, neglected the results of the arts in society and performed some vulgar shows with evil contents. Although they have not formed the main trend on the stages of traditional opera, this kind of phenomena has caused an uproar and the audience's reproach and dissatisfaction in some areas and a few performing groups. These kinds of operas have numerous titles. With the exception of some which still have doubtful contents requiring careful handling or improvement of their quality and which cannot be shown for the time being (such as "Exchanging the Prince With a Fox," "Feng Shen Bang," "Pen Si Dong," "Hong Bi Yuan" and so on), there are still other operas which are good since they have already been revised and recomposed. However, to meet the needs of vulgarity, some opera groups have not wanted to use the revised good versions and have deliberately showed the old problem-ridden ones. Some have even shown bad operas, such as "Tan Yin Shan" and "Sha Zi Bao" and the vulgar and obscene "18 Touches" and so forth, which had already been clearly stipulated in writing as being banned from showing. The contents of some operas originally were not evil; however, to win cheap effects from the audiences, some opera groups even unscrupulously changed the contents at random and added some obscene words and rough insulting actions... Obviously, this has not only distorted the party's principle and policy on restoring traditional opera and betrayed the correct road of our country's work on traditional opera, but also lost the solemn responsibility and social virtue of traditional opera. Therefore I feel it is necessary to correct and stop them.

Our country's traditional operatic arts, which are of profound artistic tradition and characteristic style, have extensive and close connections with the masses. Particularly in townships and the countryside, traditional opera is almost the principal spiritual food of the masses' cultural life. Traditional cultural workers shoulder the heavy responsibility of educating and entertaining the masses. In building socialist cultural and art work, our party has always paid very serious attention to supporting and developing our country's national arts. In transforming traditional opera, including tapping potentials and composing and creating traditional opera, a series of policies and systems have been formulated. Our party has also adopted many effective measures for enhancing the ideological awareness and cultural level of traditional opera workers and help them overcome difficulties in their daily life and work. Since the founding of our country, under the guidance of the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to bring forth the new" and "making the past serve the present" as put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong and under the concrete guidance of Comrade Zhou Enlai, traditional opera workers have transformed, composed and created traditional opera from an historical materialist viewpoint in accordance with the artistic characteristics of different types of operas, scored achievements which cannot be underestimated, produced many outstanding operas and gained successful experiences from reality in how to make old traditional operas conform with the new period. Today, we have buried the cultural despotism of the "gang of four," and reopened traditional opera once again. Our goal is not only to give play to the active role of "making the past serve the present" of outstanding traditional opera which we already possess, but also to promote a rapid restoration and development of traditional operatic arts and give play to their characteristic functions in society under the new historical conditions in cultivating new socialist persons, enhancing the people's levels of ideology, virtue and culture and satisfying the people's needs in their many aspects of judging beauty.

In my view, there is a definite relationship between the abnormal phenomena that are currently appearing on stage and the unilateral use of economic methods to manage the performing groups. To transform the irrational management system of the performing groups, it is essential to properly adopt some economic measures to provide suitable quotas on the number of performances and profits to the performing groups, pursue practical effects, effectively practice economy, mobilize the performing personnel's activism and creativeness, reduce the burden on the people and state and simultaneously provide rational salaries and material rewards to the performing groups and personnel who have made greater contributions with greater results. However, sheerly advocating economic measures and unilaterally stressing the number of performances and the quota of profit is bound to commercialize the performances of opera. From what I know, to pursue the rate of audience attendance, some areas have kept on changing the operas. One opera was only shown two or three times. Not only is artistic quality neglected, but the performing personnel are also

kept constantly on the run. Due to the earlier wanton persecution of the "gang of four," the artistic ranks were seriously ruined, and greatly needed to rest and recover and to be cultivated and built. If irrationally used, the artistic life of the fortunate remaining performing personnel could only deteriorate daily. To earn money, they tried to please the vulgar taste of a few audiences and did not even have any scruples about performing evil operas. These wrong methods will only bring the consequences of seeking temporary relief regardless of the consequences. In fact, some opera groups are currently only relying on "living off their past gains" and "rummaging through their chests" since they have not been able to produce any new creations and newly composed good works over a long period. With the passing of the temporary "busy season," they are already facing the dilemma of "nowhere to go." Everyone knows that the contributions of an opera group and the hallmark of its prosperity mainly depend on whether it can produce work and outstanding artists. Some opera groups concentrate on creation and making the past serve the present and building the ranks in traditional opera. The outstanding work they create has not only provided new operas for the groups to perform, but has also done the duty of art workers toward society as well as bringing up a number of new able artists for opera groups. This kind of practice is worthy of learning from and promoting.

Naturally, it is not necessary for an audience to panic over some abnormal phenomena appearing on the stages of traditional opera and make impractical evaluations on the effects and situation of the stage arts; however, I feel that evil operas that should be banned still have to be banned. In addition, the relevant departments should be concerned about and effectively solve the problems of traditional opera art workers in their daily life and work, such as implementation of the policy on artists and the issue of their employment. As to opera groups whose creative ability is weak, it is also necessary to supply them with able hands and new works to lead their art activities to return to the correct track.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BEIJING RIBAO' CALLS FOR MORE MODERN BEIJING OPERAS

HK060828 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 25 May 80 p 2

["New Long March Forum" column by Zhan Jin [1728 0093]: "We Hope More Modern Beijing Operas Will Be Performed"]

[Text] Beijing opera circles have put on many new historical operas such as "Hong Deng Zhao" [4767 3597 3564], "Xie Yaohuan," "Hai Rui Dismissed From Office" and "Sima Qian" in the past 2 or 3 years. They have been dazzlingly brilliant. We have also discovered the revised old operas anew. However, a blemish in the otherwise perfect situation is that there have been too few modern operas. It is easy for us to understand this. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" shackled all traditional and historical operas for 10 years. As the fetters have been smashed, a hundred flowers are blossoming again. Moreover, it is not very easy to produce a new opera, which should be politically and artistically up to standard and should have a large audience. We can imagine the difficulties faced by the opera circles.

However, all forms of art, including Beijing opera which is an old form of art, must make progress as time goes on and must strive to reflect reality. From outstanding traditional and historical operas, we can of course gain spiritual inspiration and encouragement, know how to live and how to behave ourselves. However, it is more important that we see in modern operas the new look of modern times and the work, daily life, ideology and sentiments of modern people so that we can cultivate the spirit of enthusiastically making progress and working hard for the prosperity of the country. The Chinese people have been struggling for nearly 60 years under the leadership of our party and are achieving the socialist modernizations in a high-spirited and vigorous way. It would be unimaginable to say that we cannot find a suitable theme for an opera. During the performance on the last national day, eight Beijing operas won prizes. Four of them were modern Beijing operas. The "Pillar of the South" performed by the young opera troupe of Gansu Province portrayed the heroic image of Chen Yi. Was it not an outstanding performance? Did not the operas such as "Fog Covering Wa Mountain," "Director Bian" and "A Packet of Honey" reflect the broadness of real life? I think if

everyone makes efforts to bring forth new ideas, Beijing operas can display heroes like Dong Cunrui, Liu Hulan, Zhang Zhixin and "factory director Qiao" and a wide range of themes.

Perhaps some comrades erroneously think that modern Beijing operas were advocated by the "gang of four." In fact, the "gang of four" were claiming credit for other people's achievements. They were advertising themselves under the pretext of advocating "model dramas." They secretly appreciated bad operas such as "The Playful Dragon and Phoenix." They also arbitrarily summed up the so-called experience of "giving prominence on three levels in art creation" to ruin modern Beijing operas and to prevent their development. The correct summing up of the experiences gained in the creation of modern Beijing operas is beneficial to using the Beijing operas, an old art, to display a new content. It is also beneficial to promoting the writing and performance of modern operas.

The old audience of Beijing operas is becoming smaller. I know many young people who say they "do not understand Beijing operas and do not like them." If Beijing operas cannot win the favor of young people and cannot even be understood by them, they will not have a good prospect.

Traditional operas and art must be improved to keep pace with contemporary trends. Otherwise, they will not have a bright future and their audience will become smaller and smaller. Mei Lanfang was "an outstanding figure" among the representatives of female characters in Beijing operas. As early as 60 to 70 years ago, he deeply felt that it was insufficient to only perform old dramas. Therefore, he personally performed some modern operas to reveal the corruption in the bureaucracy and the evils of feudal marriages. Just after liberation, Cheng Yanqiu said that if he had not been too old and too fat, he would have performed the "White-Haired Girl." We sincerely hope that while the Beijing opera circles are putting on good traditional and historical operas, they will simultaneously write and perform more modern operas. We particularly hope that famous actors can take a lead in performing modern operas so that these operas will gradually become popular.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' CARRIES CONTENTS OF PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL

HK281331 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 80 p 4

[Table of Contents of ZHEXUE YANJIU No 5 of 1980]

[Text] Article by ZHEXUE YANJIU commentator: "Deepen the Theoretical Study of the Practice Criterion"

Article by Xia Zhentao: "The Elements and Characteristics of Practice and the Criterion of Truth"

Article by Qi Zhenhai and Liu Jiyue: "Comment on the Doctrine That 'Material and Spirit Have Interacted to Play a Decisive Role'"

Report by ZHEXUE YANJIU reporter: "Some Philosophical Workers in Beijing Hold a Forum To Discuss How To Carry Out Research Work on the Theory of Historical Materialism"

Forum on the Study of Philosophy

Article by Li Xiulin: "A Brief Discussion on Social Organisms"

Article by Li Huaichun: "The Status of Social Practice Category in Historical Materialism"

Article by Jing En: "The Progressive Significance of Clausewitz's Theory on the Nature of War and the Limitations of the Times"

Article by Zhang Xinze: "Queries About the Article 'Responsive Discussions on the Relationship Between the Superstructure and Ideology'"

Article by Chen Yuanhui: "Wang Guowei's Aesthetic Thinking"

Article by Huang Yaomian: "Aristotle's Aesthetics" (Continued)

Article by Yu Lichang: "How Did Bacon Treat Hypotheses?"

Article by Xu Zhirui: "On the Philosophy of Qian and Kun in 'The Book of Changes'"

Book review by Huang Nansen: "Brief Comments on the Book 'Critique of Critical Philosophy'"

Reference material compiled by Zhang Zhiyan: "Discussions on the Issue of Lao Zi"

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MODERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION SET UP IN ZHENGZHOU

HK070701 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 5 Jun 80

[Text] A gathering to establish the Chinese Modern History Association and the first seminar of the association were held in Zhengzhou from 26 May to 1 June. Nearly 200 representatives from 130 institutes of higher education, scientific research organs, military academies, memorial halls of revolutionary history, journalism and publishing units from 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions attended the gathering. They included famous experts, scholars and professors, and persons who have long been engaged in teaching modern Chinese history and in scientific research. In addition nearly 800 party history workers from Henan institutes of higher education, party schools and departments concerned and a number of politics and history teachers attended as observers, listened to reports delivered by experts, and took part in academic exchanges. This was a grand academic gathering of the force of experts in modern Chinese history. Preparations for this gathering were initiated by nine institutes of higher education.

Comrade Lu Dingyi, vice chairman of the CPPCC, sent a message of greeting to the gathering. He reviewed in detail the importance of stepping up research in modern Chinese history and expressed enthusiastic support for the establishment of the association. He urged everyone to score more and greater results in the scientific research of modern Chinese history.

The meeting listened to important reports on research in party history, research in the history of the Republic of China, evaluation of various figures in the crucial years of the new and old democratic revolutions, exhibitions of party history, compilation of archives of the Kuomintang government, and the editing of historical accounts of past events. These reports summed up the achievements and progress in research in modern Chinese history in the 30 years since the founding of the state and put forward many new research topics. In addition over 50 comrades submitted theses to the meeting and launched academic exchange.

Liu Jie, standing secretary of the Henan Provincial CCP Committee and governor, and provincial CCP committee secretaries Qiao Mingfu, Zhao Wenfu

and Zhang Shude attended the opening and close of the gathering and made speeches. Zhao Wenjie, vice chairman and secretary general of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee; Song Yuxi, member of the Standing Committee of the provincial CCP committee and director of the Propaganda Department of the provincial CCP committee; (Wang Peiyu), chairman of the provincial literature and art committee; and Niu Wanli, secretary of the Zhengzhou Municipal CCP Committee, also attended the meeting.

The meeting discussed and approved the charter of the Chinese Modern History Association and the list of names of the first executive committee. The meeting appointed Comrade Lu Dingyi honorary chairman of the committee, elected Comrade Li Shu chairman, and also elected vice chairmen, a secretary general and deputy secretaries general, and 61 executive members, including two places reserved for Taiwan Province. The executive committee then held its first meeting, which discussed and decided on work plans for the coming period.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING HOLDS MEETING ON RESTRUCTURING SECONDARY EDUCATION

HK061025 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 May 80

[Summary] The Beijing Municipal People's Government held a meeting on restructuring secondary education from 27 to 30 May. The meeting studied and planned out the work of restructuring secondary education. It asked for the cooperation of the various sectors of society to grasp well the restructuring of secondary education in a down-to-earth manner. Thus it is necessary to change as soon as possible the present situation of secondary education lagging behind the needs of construction.

The meeting held that the restructuring of secondary education in the city is absolutely necessary. As to the policies and requirements of the restructuring work, the meeting held that the most important thing is to restructure education at the senior middle school level to bring it more in line with the requirements of the four modernizations. The policy of popular education and vocational and technical education, full-day schools and part-work part-study schools, part-farm work part-study schools and sparetime schools going hand in hand should be implemented. Education below the county level should be mainly oriented toward the rural areas. Vocational and technical schools should be established in the cities and some regular senior middle schools should be converted into vocational senior middle schools.

The meeting suggested the following concrete measures to be taken to restructure secondary education: 1) Revise the curriculum of regular senior middle schools; 2) convert some senior middle schools or classes into vocational senior middle schools or classes; and 3) open up vocational and technical schools in various fields. These measures aim at eventually establishing a proper proportion between the number of middle level professionals and high level professionals.

Lin Hujia, first secretary of the municipal CCP committee and mayor of Beijing, spoke at the meeting. He said: "All departments in Beijing must now draw up plans according to the four suggestions made by the Central Committee Secretariat on the policy on work in Beijing. While drawing up plans, we must pay serious attention to cultivating talented

people. We must think about the educational system in conjunction with the labor system and the cadre system." Comrade Lin Hujia also pointed out that work on restructuring secondary education should be done enthusiastically and steadily. Pilot projects should be seriously conducted.

After thorough consultations, the meeting decided that 23 bureau level companies in the finance and trade, economic, construction and tourism systems will link up with more than 60 middle schools under the jurisdiction of 9 districts and counties in the municipality to hold experimental vocational senior middle classes in more than 40 subjects. These classes will be open for enrollment this summer together with the regular senior middle schools.

CSO: 4005

COMMENTARY GREET'S NATIONAL CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AWARDS

HK061417 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 May 80 p 4

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO commentator: "Provide the Younger Generation With Richer Spiritual Food--Greeting the Second National Children's Literature and Art Awards"]

[Text] Just when the young children were jubilantly greeting the First International Children's Day of the 1980's, the second national children's literature and art awards ceremony was rounded off. The awards ceremony reviewed the great successes scored in children's literature and art in the past 25 years, carried the achievements forward and boosted morale. It will certainly play a beneficial role in mobilizing the positive factors in all aspects and in further making children's literature and art flourish. We hereby extend our warm and wholehearted greetings to those writers, artists, children's literature and art workers and education workers who received the awards.

Young children are the flowers of the motherland and the future of our nation. They constitute a potential new force for developing socialism. This is of especially great significance on the road of the new Long March in which the whole country has developed the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Our party has always been very concerned about the healthy growth of young children and has attached very great importance to the positive role of children's literature and art works in molding the fine souls of a generation of new people. Since the establishment of the state, and with the party's warm concern, despite the bitter devastation by the ultraleftist line and cultural despotism of Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their clique, children's literature and art has still achieved very great developments and scored very great achievements. For instance, there were more than 200 outstanding works of different forms which were recommended by all places and selected by the appraisal committee through repeated studies. As a matter of fact, there were innumerable fine and comparatively fine works which were not selected for the awards. These graceful fairy tales, stories and songs, moving poems and fiction and rich and varied drama and films are the good teachers and helpful friends of hundreds of millions of children.

They have sown the seeds of beauty in morality and values among the young children, helped the children in raising the sails of thinking on their voyage of life, and opened up for them the treasure house of knowledge in science and culture. In a word, they have played a positive role in bringing up a new generation who have lofty ideals and aspirations, high morality and values and rich cultural knowledge and they must never be ignored.

Great achievements have been scored in children's literature and art. In particular, in the past more than 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," many gifted new people have emerged among the ranks of creators of children's literature and art, and many good works which the small readers warmly welcome have also been created. However, we must see that in the hundred-flower garden of socialist literature and art where prosperity is displayed for the first time, the plot of children's literature and art have not yet aroused even more people to show concern for and attach importance to it, and the quantity, quality and varieties of children's literature and art works created are still very far from meeting the needs of 200 million small readers. We must pay attention to this situation. Towering trees for the pillars and beams need to be grown from saplings, and outstanding talent for developing the four modernizations needs to be trained when they are young. If we cannot supply adequate spiritual food for the young people, provide them with rich nourishment of moral, intellectual, physical cultural and aesthetic education, and assist them in growing up into men with ideals, morality, knowledge and physical strength, then we are neglecting our duties to the revolution and the future. We hope the party and CYL committees and propaganda, cultural and education departments at all levels will seriously listen to the voice of tens of millions of small readers, proceed from their concern for the growth of the younger generation of the revolution and for the future of the motherland, mobilize all positive factors, adopt even more effective measures, work hard to do a good job in promoting the creation, publication and circulation work for children's literature and art, and strive to achieve a major development in the ranks of creators of children's literature and art and a major breakthrough and development in the creation of children's literature and art within a relatively short time. This will allow the young children to have sufficient high quality reading material.

The children's literature and art awards are a very meaningful activity in promoting prosperity in the creation of children's literature and art. We hope this activity of appraising and awarding works will become a regular practice with ample diversification. In addition, there should be both appraisals and awards and an integration of both. In this way, it will be advantageous to mobilizing people's enthusiasm, implementing in an even better way the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in the sphere of children's literature and art, and promoting emulation and development in the creation of different works. We believe that after these awards, so long as we really attach ideological importance to the work and take positive action, there will certainly be a situation of great prosperity in children's literature and art in which a hundred flowers bloom with great vigor.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' EDITORIAL ON CHILDREN'S DAY

HK120714 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jun 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Let the Flowers of the Motherland Be More Brilliant"]

[Text] Amid the good situation in which the whole nation is stable and united in politics and steadily developing in economics, we welcome the First International Children's Day of the 1980's. We sincerely extend our warm congratulations to children of all nationalities in the country, and our sincere respects to all the child workers.

Our country has entered a new historical development period. During this historical period, we want to carry out the four modernizations and to build our country into a great powerful socialist nation. This which demands that we reform and perfect the socialist political system while reforming and perfecting the socialist economic system, and build a highly socialist spiritual culture while building a highly material culture. This is an unprecedented great and arduous cause. To fulfill such a cause, we can only rely on a new generation who are developed in an all-round way, morally, intellectually and physically, and who possess both high socialist consciousness and noble sentiments, as well as a high degree of modern scientific knowledge and strong bodies. That is what Comrade Deng Xiaoping has recently encouraged the children of the whole country--to be people with ideals, morals, knowledge and strength.

The children now are the future of our country and nation. They are the great reserve force of the building of the four modernizations, and the masters of the 21st century. In order to enable the children to shoulder the historical mission of carrying forward the cause and forging ahead into the future, we must without delaying one day seriously grasp firmly and well the work of nurturing and educating children. This is a strategic task of the party and all people of the country.

At present, we must continue to do well the education of children in scientific and cultural knowledge, and teach the children to like studying and science. At the same time, we must strengthen the ideological and moral education of children, and use lively methods suited to the

characteristics of children to teach them to set up revolutionary ideals from childhood, to love the party, the socialist motherland and the people. We should further launch the activity of "learning from Comrade Lei Feng" for the children, to cultivate the virtues of being concerned for the collective, being willing to help others, and being civilized and polite, and to love labor and behave well. The child education departments concerned should do their work well, starting by demanding all-round development in virtue, intelligence, physical health and beauty. The education department should pay attention to improve teaching methods and materials. While improving teaching quality, the burden on primary pupils should not be too heavy. We should support and help the Young Pioneer organizations to launch all sorts of activities beneficial to the all-round development of children. The early-stage education of infants is the foundation of primary basic education. Doing this task well has very important significance in promoting the development of the whole of child education, and cultivating people of talent to meet the needs of the building of the four modernizations.

An important position in nurturing and educating children is the family. Parents are the first teachers of a child. Every word and gesture of the parents will exert an important subtle influence on the child's mind. As when teaching youths we should talk and guide, similarly, parents should set good examples for the children by behaving well themselves. Abundant evidence has shown that one of the important reasons why youths and juveniles go astray is that they lack family education, or have had improper family education. Parents should watch out for this. They should genuinely understand the important responsibility they shoulder, and actively keep in close contact with the school and society to educate their children.

Educating children is the sacred task of the whole of society. CCP organizations at all levels should put the work of child education and health care on their agenda. They should always have the children in mind, and always be concerned for and check on this work. We must strengthen the ideological and organizational building of the force of child workers, encourage them to continue enhancing their political, ideological and professional standards, and help them to solve the actual difficulties in their work. All places should follow the demands of the Central Committee, firmly grasp resuming the sites of children's extra-curricular activities, and make use of whatever facilities are available to open up some small multi-purpose positions for activities. Women and child care organizations should also further improve their work, strengthen their sense of responsibility and do better in health care. Production and commercial departments should support and facilitate the development of child education. They should produce more, better and cheaper educational, recreational and daily-use articles in order to satisfy the increasing material and spiritual needs of children. Cultural and publishing departments and writers, artists and scientists who are devoted to child education should meticulously produce spiritual food,

and create more excellent children's reading materials, films, dramas and television programs and so on. In particular we should shoot some child feature films. All departments and professions which are working for children should further improve their service standard. The idea and attitude of neglecting child care and education work is shortsighted. Our comrades should not spare their energies and materials over child care and education.

At present, there are a number of new problems in child education work, and there will be more problems as the society progresses and our cause develops. We must continue to study and investigate, and should not stay at the standard we have achieved. We must make great efforts in professional study, and seriously study child care, child education and child psychology and other scientific knowledge. We must be capable of absorbing and utilizing the results of educational science research at home and abroad. This is an honorable task for all child workers. In this respect, for all work done and results gained, child workers should receive respect and encouragements from the party and the people.

In the 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," under the guidance of the party Central Committee's correct line, child workers have worked very hard to resume and develop child education in our country, and have gained significant results. The millions of children of our motherland are growing up healthily. We believe that under the care of the party, and with the "gardeners" nurturing them meticulously, the flowers of the motherland will bloom more brilliantly.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

HENAN COLLEGE ENROLLMENT--A Henan Radio contributing commentator's article revealed that student enrollment for institutes of higher learning in Henan has begun. Student enrollment in the province this year will reach 500,000 persons. The article said that it is necessary to strengthen the party's leadership over student enrollment for institutes of higher learning, which is the key for doing this job well. The departments concerned at the provincial level and the party committees of the various prefectures, municipalities and counties must educate the comrades who are taking part in student enrollment for institutes of higher learning on the characteristics of student enrollment this year. Communist Party members must give play to their role as the models in student enrollment and struggle against those who take the back door. The party committees at all levels and the committees of student enrollment for institutes of higher learning and the departments concerned must effectively do a good job of propaganda work in student enrollment. Disqualified students must be encouraged to take part in all types of production and study while working. [Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 30 May 80 HK]

SHANGHAI COLLEGES' NEW SPECIALTIES--Shanghai, 2 Jun--The 16 colleges and universities in Shanghai recently have offered 28 additional specialties in management and economics. More than 2,300 undergraduates and graduates are being engaged in studies in these fields. In addition, these colleges and universities have also run training classes and given lectures on management and economics for the local units concerned. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0703 GMT 2 Jun 80 OW]

JIANGSU EDUCATION MEETING--A plenary session of the Committee for Editing Teaching Material on Dynamics for Engineering Departments of Institutes of Higher Learning was held at the Huadong Water Conservancy College in Nanning. Pu Dongxiu, vice education minister, issued letters of appointment to members of the committee and read Education Minister Jiang Nanxiang's greetings to the meeting. Xu Jiatun, first secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and responsible persons of related departments called on all members of the committee at the meeting site. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 4 Jun 80 OW]

HEILONGJIANG VOCATIONAL EDUCATION--Since last October, the Heilongjiang Provincial General Bureau for State Farms has established seven vocational senior middle schools to train young people required for production and construction in various land-reclamation areas. These schools teach such courses as agronomy, farm machinery and accounting. In the latter half of this year, an additional 33 vocational senior middle schools are expected to come into being. At the same time, 82 vocational training classes will be held in regular middle schools in the land-reclamation areas. [SK122350 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Jun 80 SK]

GANSU SPARE-TIME EDUCATION--Since the downfall of the "gang of four" Gansu Province has made new progress in spare-time education of workers. According to incomplete statistics, about 21.5 percent of the total workers and staff across the province are now attending spare-time courses. [SK120706 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 9 Jun 80]

JILIN MODEL TEACHERS--The Jilin provincial people's government held a commendation meeting in the auditorium of the provincial guest house on 9 June to award certificates to 57 teachers of a special classification, who had emerged in the middle and elementary schools across the province and who were entitled in November 1979 by the Jilin Provincial Revolutionary Committee. At the meeting (Zhuang Yizun), director of the provincial culture and education office, announced the resolution on these model teachers made by the provincial revolutionary committee and their names. Yu Lin, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and Liu Yunzhao, deputy governor of the provincial people's government, attended the meeting and personally awarded certificates to the 57 teachers of a special classification. [SK120656 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Jun 80]

SHANGHAI MANAGEMENT PERSONNEL TRAINING--Shanghai, 5 Jun--A total of 2,300 students in management science are being trained now in Shanghai's 16 institutions of higher learning. An additional 28 faculties of management and economics, in the wake of a general readjustment of faculties in the city, serve the needs of the current modernization drive. Fudan University set up a management science faculty based on the strength of the existing faculties of economics, mathematics and the computer. The Shanghai Institute of Machinery began research on industrial management. The faculties of the management of finances, world economics, foreign trade and banking were added in the Shanghai Jiaotong University, Tongji University, and the institutes of textiles and railways. Two meetings have been convened in the city to coordinate the teaching of such subjects. Compilation of teaching materials and training of lecturers were also discussed. The city's institutions of higher learning have run short-term classes to train existing management personnel. Professors have given 20 lectures in the city's science hall on the basic knowledge of the science of modern management for audiences of thousands each time. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 5 Jun 80 OW]

GANSU ACCOUNTANTS--The Gansu Provincial Financial Bureau held a meeting on 7 June to present certificates to 152 qualified accountants. Among those present at the meeting were Gao Jinchun, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress; Xu Feiqing, deputy governor of the province; and other provincial leaders. Xu Feiqing delivered a speech, calling on financial and accounting personnel to emancipate their minds and improve their work. [SK122358 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 8 Jun 80]

NEI MONGGOL NATIONALITIES RESEARCH SOCIETY--The Nei Monggol Nationalities Affairs Research Society was officially set up on 28 May in Hohhot Municipality. A mass academic organization under the leadership of the party committee, the society's goal is to unite the region's theoretical and practical workers for nationalities affairs and carry out academic research on ethnology and policies toward nationalities. Wang Duo, permanent secretary of the regional party committee, spoke at the inaugural meeting. [SK120708 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Jun 80]

NEI MONGGOL YOUTH FEDERATION--The first session of the Fifth Committee of the Nei Monggol Regional Youth Federation and the Second Congress of the Nei Monggol Regional Students Union closed on 8 June. Ting Mao, second secretary of the regional party committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the regional people's congress, attended the session and spoke. He reviewed past student movements in the practice of the Chinese revolution and stressed that youth and students should have a firm and correct political orientation. He observed that only by upholding the four basic principles can we achieve the great historical task of the four modernizations. He urged youth to study science and technology. The session elected the Standing Committee of the Fifth Committee of the Regional Youth Federation. (Zhao Renqing) was elected chairman of the Youth Federation, and (Lian Shun) was elected chairman of the regional Students Union. [SK120708 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Jun 80]

YUNNAN POPULATION ASSOCIATION--The Yunnan Population Association was established in Kunming on 28 May. The association will unite all those who are interested in studying the theory of population throughout the province. They will study the history and present situation of population in the province and the future trends and the relations between population and economy. The association will also study the issues of the population of minority nationalities and economy and culture, actively publicize and popularize the fundamental principle of population in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to push forward planned parenthood work in the province and effectively control population growth. Yang Kecheng, former professor of the economic faculty of the Yunnan University and currently vice provincial governor, was elected director of the Yunnan Population Association. [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 May 80 HK]

GUANGDONG PLANNED PARENTHOOD--Recently, several leading cadres in Guangdong emphatically pointed out that it is necessary for the leading cadres to set an example of having only one child. These cadres are Liu Tianfu, secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and vice provincial governor; Kou Qingyan, Standing Committee member of the provincial CCP committee and chief procurator of the provincial procuratorate; Wang Ning, Standing Committee member of the provincial CCP committee and vice provincial governor; Yang Yingbin, Standing Committee member and secretary general of the provincial CCP committee; and Li Xuexian, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress. Liu Tianfu educated his son not to have a second child after giving birth to a daughter, while Kou Qiangyan's first and second daughters only have one daughter each. Yang Yingbin's four children have also responded to the party's call and have all collected one-child certificates. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 30 May 80 HK]

MINORITY TOUR TO SHANGHAI--On 2 June party and government leaders in Shanghai, Han Zheyi, Zhang Chengzong and others, met with leaders of the various sub-groups of the minority nationalities "1 May" visiting group. Following the meeting, the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee and the municipal people's government gave an informal dinner for all members of the group. In the past few days, the group visited the site of the party's First National Congress, the Shanghai Electrical Machinery Plant, the Shanghai No 5 Steel Mill and the Jiangnan Shipyard. [OW090627 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 2 Jun 80]

LIAONING MINORITY DELEGATION--Huang Oudong, second secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the Liaoning Provincial People's Congress, gave a reception on 9 June for all members of the Liaoning provincial delegation of minority nationalities, who had just returned from a tour of minority nationalities on May Day. He also listened to their briefings. [SK120656 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 9 Jun 80]

HEILONGJIANG MINORITY DELEGATION--After joining the visit tours of minority nationalities' delegations on May Day, the Heilongjiang provincial delegation of minority nationalities concluded its visit and studying tours in Beijing, Nanjing, Changzhou, Shanghai and other places and returned to Harbin on 6 June. On 9 June all members of the delegation were received and feted by Wang Luming, deputy secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial CCP Committee and deputy governor of the Heilongjiang provincial people's government; Zhang Ruilin, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, and by Jin Langbai, vice chairman of the Heilongjiang Provincial CPPCC Committee. The members of the provincial visit delegation began to return to their own localities on the evening of 9 June. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 9 Jun 80 SK]

HUBEI COUNTY MINORITY NATIONALITIES--Laifeng and Hefeng Tu-jia autonomous counties are resolved to strengthen unity among the various nationalities and build their counties into thriving and rich mountain areas. When these counties were officially established, the provincial CCP committee, the Standing Committee of the Hubei provincial people's congress, the provincial people's government, the provincial CPPCC and the Hubei Military District also organized a delegation to visit the counties to extend their congratulations. The delegation was led by Li Wei, deputy secretary of the Hubei Provincial CCP Committee. On 31 May, Huang Zhizhen, secretary of the Hubei Provincial CCP Committee and vice provincial governor; Lu Wenyuan, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Hubei provincial people's congress; and He Dinghua, vice chairman of the Hubei CPPCC Committee, visited Comrade (Wen Zhenyi), member of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, who also took part in celebrating the founding of these two counties. [HK030940 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Jun 80]

JIANGSU GOVERNOR ATTENDS MEETING--The Jiangsu provincial people's government recently held a meeting in Suzhou Municipality to exchange experience on unfolding a patriotic health campaign in various urban areas. The meeting called on the public health front to make rapid improvements in the work in the next 6 months in order to greet the convocation of the 12th National Party Congress. Hui Yuyu, secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee and governor of Jiangsu Province, and Wang Bingshi, member of the Standing Committee of the provincial CCP committee and vice governor of Jiangsu Province, attended the meeting. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Jun 80 OW]

JIANGSU TOPONOMY WORK CONFERENCE--The Jiangsu Provincial Conference on Toponymy Work was concluded in Nanjing on 7 June. Some 150 representatives of all provincial, prefectural, municipal and county departments concerned and specialists attended the conference. Vice Governor Li Zhizhong spoke at the conference. The participants listened to and studied the guidelines of the Second National Conference on Toponymy Work. The conference decided to conduct a general survey of place names in selected prefectures and municipalities in the province on a trial basis. All prefectures, municipalities and counties are urged to complete their own gazeteers and toponymy archives before 1985. [OW110527 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 9 Jun 80]

HEILONGJIANG JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION--The Heilongjiang Provincial Journalist Workers Association has resumed its activities. This was announced at a meeting of the association's executive directors on 5 June. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 6 Jun 80 SK]

JIANGXI RURAL BROADCASTING--The broadcasting station in the outskirts of Nanchang has been officially put into operation and began broadcasting to the people's communes on 1 June. The population in these outskirts has now reached 230,000 in six communes, two farms, one aquatic products

farm and one township. The station was set up after several months of preparations. [HK061044 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Jun 80]

JIANGSU DRAMA TROUPE--A 75-member drama troupe from Jiangsu arrived in Nanchang on 1 June and held the first performance at the Jiangxi Arts Theater on 3 June. Present at the premiere were Bai Dongcai, Ma Jikong and Liu Junxiu, leading comrades of the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee. After the performance, the leading comrades received all the performers. [HK061044 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Jun 80]

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